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*devoted to the Scientific Study of*

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J. D. RHEINALLT JONES

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# BANTU STUDIES

## SPECIMENS OF EAST AFRICAN BANTU DIALECTS

By A. WERNER

Professor of Swahili and Bantu Languages, School of Oriental Studies, London

(NOTE.—The following specimens have been received from Mr. E. C. Baker, District Officer, Musoma, Tanganyika Territory.—A.W.)

*Now, eight days ago this man entered into my cattle-fold and stole 10 cows and 5 goats.*

*He ran away with them and went to his friend who lives in the country (at a plantation) and hid them. And I, for my part, got news of the place where my cattle were hidden, and I went and looked at them, but the owner of the house refused to give (them) to me, and said that they are not my property, and, as for him, at that time he was drunk with beer.*

*So now I have come to complain before the Elders.*

### KURIA <sup>1</sup>

Bono chahikire nsiko inyanye omonto ono akasoha kubori bone akaiba chingombe ikumi ni chimburi isano. Akakenya nacho akagenda kumusani wae amenyere kumogondo <sup>2</sup> akachibisa; na uni <sup>3</sup> nkamanya iga hano chibisirwe chingombe chane, nikagenda kuchimaha nawe omwene inyumba akanga kuchinga akabora iga tichao he nawe enkaga era okanyora agoterwe na marwa. Hano kusokia bono nkaika kumuchongera mbere ya Bagaka.

### KOMA

Ibere chakaika cha siku inyanye omuntu ono akacha mwigo ria changombe akeba changombe 10 na chamburete <sup>4</sup> isanu. Akangosa nacho akagi <sup>5</sup> ku musani wache anyi mumogondo akichibisa; eni nikogwa changana cha hagiyo ano abisire <sup>6</sup> changombe chani nikagi kuchirigi <sup>5</sup> bere mwene nyumba akangira okunga akamburira akabuga ebigiyo bino tibiacho no mwene mwibaga rio amarwa gari gamugwa-tire. Mbe bere nikaika kumuchongera ku Bagaruka.

<sup>1</sup> Koria (7a.) in Johnston, *Comp. Study*.

<sup>2</sup> Yao *mgunda*.

<sup>3</sup> Yao *une*.

<sup>4</sup> Peculiar suffixed form of  $\sqrt{\text{vuli}}$ . Note peculiar form of Prefix 10.

<sup>5</sup> Note these verbs in -i.

<sup>6</sup> Bisa = hide, occurs in Nyanja. Is it cognate with *fiha*, *ficha*, etc.?

## JITA

Oli jakingire siku itanu ne satu<sup>1</sup> omunu unu engie mwigutu rianiakeba jingha<sup>2</sup> ikumi na jimbusi itaanu. Akabirima najo akagenda ku musani wae unu ekae mwisambu akajibisa; nanye nonguye anu abisire ingha(?) yani nikagenda kujirora<sup>3</sup> nawe omwene inyumba akalema okunana akaika ati jitarijao nawe mumagerwago aliga anywee obwarwa bumukorere. Mbe oli nakinga omujongera ku Bakaruka.

## NGURUIMI

Bono chihikire si nsiko inyanye omuntu ono akasoka koberi bwane akeba chingombe ikumi na chimburi isano. Akariarya nacho akagenda kumosani wache ono amenyere momogondo akachibisa; eni<sup>4</sup> nkogu amangana ano chibisirwe chingombe chane nikagenda kuchirora nawe mwene nyumba akanga kuha akabuga ebinto nebiacho no mwene mukabaga kayo amarwa gari gamogotiré. Mbe bono jamu nihikire kumuchongera ku Bagaruka.

## SUKUMA

Haha jashikire siku inane omunhu oyu akiba ngombe ikumi na mburi itano. Akapera najo aja kuli sumba ngwie ajengire kunda akazibisa<sup>5</sup> na nene nikigwa emihayo haho zalizibisirwe<sup>5</sup> ngombe jane<sup>5</sup> nikaja kujilola.<sup>5</sup> Ali lolo nghwene numba akalema kunina akahaya geki si shikolo shane nanghwe mukakanza kenako ali nkolwa wa walwa. Ali haha nashikaga kwena mihayo ku Wanamala.

## ZANAKE

Bono zihikire siku inyanye omuntu ono akasikira mwirigo riani akeba zingombe ikumi na zimburi isano. Akariarya nazo akegenda ewa musani waze ono amenyere mumogondo akazibisa; ne enyi nikegwa amangana ano abisire zingombe zangu nikagenda kuzirora

<sup>1</sup> Unlike the other languages of which specimens are here given, Kijita (like Nyanja, etc.) has special numerals only for 1-5 and 10.

<sup>2</sup> Very peculiar word. I am not certain what the mark over *g* is intended to indicate. Probably *gh* = *γ*. It has also been suggested that the sound may be *ŋ* followed by an aspirate. The plural appears below as *ingha*.

<sup>3</sup> *Lola* in Yao—also in Giryama; and in Old Swahili *oa* ( (l)o(l)a ).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Nyanja, etc. *ine*.

<sup>5</sup> I do not know how to explain this difference in the pronouns. The words are spelt as received: possibly *z* and *j* both represent the sound *ʒ*.

nawe omwene inyumba akanga kuha akabuga tibigiro biazno no omwene mukabaga kayo abanga agwatirwe amarwa. Mbe bono nihikiri <sup>1</sup> kumuzongera imbere ya Bakaruka.

All these languages are spoken within a comparatively restricted area in the Mwanza District, S. and S.W. of Lake Victoria. Sukuma is a dialect of Nyamwezi, though the tribe who speak it is believed to be of a different origin from the Wanyamwezi.

<sup>1</sup> Perf.







## A STUDY IN LAMBA PHONETICS

By CLEMENT M. DOKE, M.A., D.Litt.

Senior Lecturer, Department of Bantu Studies, University of the  
Witwatersrand, Johannesburg

### INTRODUCTORY

THE following survey of Lamba phonetics is the result of a special research trip<sup>1</sup> to Northern Rhodesia during July and August, 1926, which was undertaken in order to supplement and rectify the work carried out upon the Lamba language during seven years' residence among the people as a missionary from 1914 to 1921. The Lamba-speaking people are scattered over an area of some 30,000 square miles, and reside principally in the Ndola District of Northern Rhodesia and the southern "tongue" of the Katanga District of the Congo Belge. Lamba, or Uwulamba, as the natives call their language, belongs to the Central Bantu group, and geographically Lambaland is in the very centre of Bantu Africa. Lamba is a Bantu language of the dissyllabic-noun-prefix type, akin in this peculiarity to the Bemba to the north-east, but distinct from the Ila and Tonga languages to the south.

My language informants have been men and boys of many types and ages, but for my recent specialized research, I used mainly the following :—

(i) Joshua Kamwendo, a man of about 37, who has been language assistant to most of the new missionaries for many years, and who is very clear in his enunciation.

(ii) Sandawunga, heir to the group chief Katanga, a typical Lamba of about 40.

(iii) Nsentsenta, a village headman of about 45, dull in intelligence, but useful for mere repetition phonetic work.

(iv) Paul Kaputula, an extremely intelligent young man of 25, who though a leper, is a useful mission teacher, and collected for me

<sup>1</sup> Made possible by a grant, through the Bantu Studies Department, from the funds provided for African Native Studies by the Government of the Union of South Africa.

numerous examples of “significant tone” and “significant length”, as well as onomatopœic phrases.

(v) Mawutau, a young man of 25, of clear enunciation and but medium intelligence, who was useful for checking pronunciation.

Many others were called in from time to time for purposes of confirmation and checking. Of all my informants, I found Joshua Kamwendo, whom I had employed extensively in the past, of the greatest value.

§ 1. *The Linguistic Limits of Phonetics.*—In a Bantu language especially, it is extremely difficult to decide upon the limits to which phonetic investigation and phonetic recognition are applicable. In European languages, English for instance, such sounds as the click of annoyance, written *tut-tut*, or the whistled exclamation *wheu*, are rightly left out of any characteristic analysis of the phonetic phenomena. But in Bantu such special and peculiar sounds are not confined to interjections, but, introduced through the medium of that important part of speech, the radical descriptive, come right into the normal grammatical construction of verbs and nouns. The importance, then, of this side of the phonetics of a Bantu language is very considerable, and I have decided to treat of it to a certain extent. With this in view I have divided the study of Lamba phonetics into two parts, treating the first part more or less exhaustively, and the second part suggestively, realizing that, for an exhaustive treatment of that, months of special collecting and study would be necessary. The two parts are as follows:—

Part I: Normal Grammatical Phonetics, excluding phenomena which have their origin in onomatopœia or interjection.

Part II: Extra-normal Phonetics, dealing with the specialized phonetics of onomatopœia.

## PART I

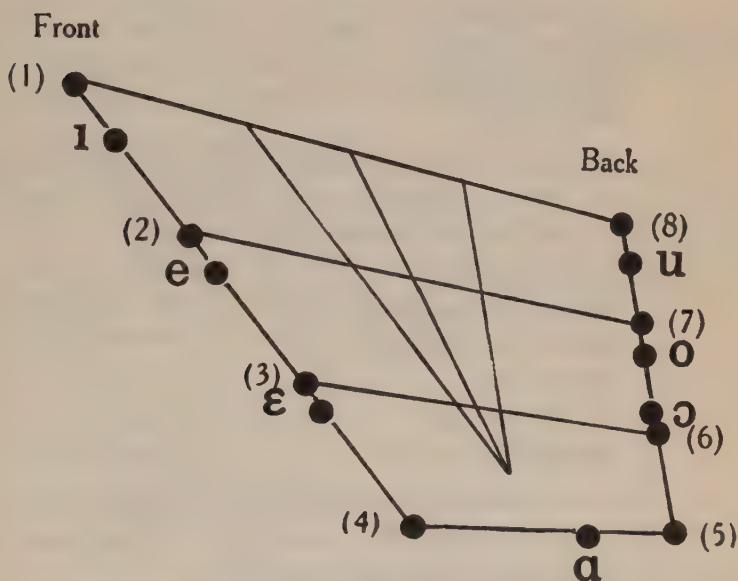
### NORMAL GRAMMATICAL PHONETICS

§ 2. Under this heading, the sounds of Lamba are divided as follows: (a) *Oral vowels*, vowels pronounced with the whole volume of air passing through the mouth-passage; (b) *Emitted consonants*, consonants which are pronounced with an outward motion of the organs of speech, and (c) *Syllabic Nasals*, continuant consonants

which compose syllables and do the work of vowels. Further speech phenomena will be treated under the following headings : (d) *Duretics*, the study of length, (e) *Dynamics*, the study of stress, (f) *Tonetics*, the study of tone or pitch, (g) *Word-division*, including the subjects of elision and coalescence, and (h) *Orthography*.

(a) *Oral Vowels*

§ 3. *Chart of Lamba Oral Vowels* :—



In normal grammatical speech all Lamba vowels are oral, none is in any degree nasalized, that is to say, all are pronounced with raised velum closing the passage to the nose. From the chart it is seen that the front and back vowels are well balanced in position. All the vowels are articulated with vocal organs tense ; there are no lax vowels in Lamba. The vowel-system is a seven-fold one common to many Bantu languages,<sup>1</sup> there being three basic vowels, the high-forward (i), the high-back (u), and the low vowel (a), and four intermediate vowels, two forward (e and ε), and two back (o and ɔ). There is a close similarity between the vowel-system of

<sup>1</sup> This system is by no means common to *all* Bantu languages, for instance Suto and Chwana each have a nine-fold system, while Tonga of the Middle Zambezi region has but a five-fold system.

Lamba and that of Italian. In Lamba, only the basic vowels are found in the noun-prefixes, and in the adjectival, relative, possessive and verbal concords.

§ 4. *The High Forward Vowel*.—Lips not excessively spread; tongue-height about mid-way between cardinals Nos. 1 and 2. This vowel occurs in Lamba both short and long without any change in quality.

- i: (long) ukut<sup>h</sup>i:nq (to fear).  
                   ukuh<sup>h</sup>i:hq (to eat for).  
                   i:mi:nq (mucus).  
 i (short) ukut<sup>h</sup>inq (to press).  
                   ukuh<sup>h</sup>iq (to mourn).  
                   imith<sup>h</sup>i (trees).

§ 5. *The High Back Vowel*.—Lips not excessively rounded; tongue position slightly above mid-way between cardinals Nos. 7 and 8; occurs both long and short without any change in quality.

- u: (long) uvu:f<sup>h</sup>i (marriage).  
                   ukutu:lq (to put down a load).  
                   ukuuu:kq (to wake up).  
 u (short) uvuf<sup>h</sup>i (a lie).  
                   ukutulq (to dig).  
                   ukuuv<sup>h</sup>kq (to exorcise).

§ 6. *The Low Vowel*.—Tongue-position almost mid-way between cardinals Nos. 4 and 5, but slightly nearer No. 5; occurs both long and short without any alteration of tongue-position.

- a: (long) ukup<sup>h</sup>a:lq (to deposit dung, of birds).  
                   amq:lq (nails).  
                   ifika:sq (animal fat).  
                   inta:sq (sandals).  
 a (short) ukup<sup>h</sup>alq (to resemble).  
                   amalq (intestines).  
                   ifikasq (big feet).

§ 7. *The mid-forward and mid-back vowels*.—In Lamba there are two exemplifications of each of these, a half-open and a half-close.

(i) *The half-close forward vowel*.—Lips slightly spread, tongue-position considerably lower than for cardinal vowel No. 2. Occurs both long and short without alteration of tongue-position.



- e: (long) *le:ta* (bring).  
                   *ce:ɲɛ:ta* (beware).  
 e (short) *na:hikdɛtɛ* (I tied).

(ii) *The half-open forward vowel*.—Tongue-position slightly lower than cardinal vowel No. 3; lips slightly spread. Occurs both long and short without alteration of tongue-position.

- ɛ: (long) *fe:ta* (fade).  
 ɛ (short) *fehɛ* (nurse).  
                   *nevɔ* (I).

(iii) *The half-close back vowel*.—Lips fairly rounded; tongue-position slightly lower than for that of cardinal Vowel No. 7. Occurs both long and short without alteration in tongue-position.

- o: (long) *lɛmtɔ:ndɔ* (water pots).  
                   *ɲkɔ:ndɔ* (war).  
 o (short) *ɲkulo* (waterbuck).

(iv) *The half-open back vowel*.—Lips rounded; tongue-position slightly above that for cardinal No. 6. Occurs both long and short without alteration in tongue-position.

- ɔ: (long) *va:ta* (rot).  
                   *ɲkɔ:vɔ* (I shall row).  
 ɔ (short) *sɔmbɪ* (but).  
                   *fɔɲkɔtɛ* (dig deeply).  
                   *le:lɔ* (to-day).

#### § 8. *Rules for the use of mid-forward and mid-back vowels.*

(i) When long, e: and o: are usually found, though ɛ: and ɔ: may occur when stressed, especially before l and h.

(ii) When short, ɛ and ɔ invariably occur in stressed syllables.

(iii) When the preceding syllable contains i, u, e: or o:, short e and o invariably occur provided they are not stressed. When the preceding syllable contains any other vowel or short e or o, the short vowels ɛ and ɔ occur.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is noteworthy that in Lamba this vowel influence is *progressive*, while in Zulu it is *retrogressive*, the succeeding vowel influencing the prior one. Lamba perfect terminations are -*le* or -*ɛle*, e.g. *na:hikdɛtɛ* (I tied) and *na:hikɛkɛtɛ* (I desisted). Contrast the Zulu words *le:lɪ* (this) and *le:lɔ* (that).

§ 9. *Double vowels*.—Double vowels in Lamba must be distinguished carefully from long vowels. They are characterized by a double pulsation in articulation, which produces two distinct syllables. The following are a few examples :—

ud:ɬɪɲɲ:ɬɛ (they entered).  
 ɪɲɲ<sup>1</sup> (many).  
 ukwɛ:ekɔ<sup>2</sup> (to lean against).  
 ɪmbo:ɔ<sup>3</sup> (buffalo).  
 utuúndɪ (jiggers).

From the notes on several of these examples it is seen that with some speakers, the semi-vowel j (or w) is inserted, making the syllabification very clear. The use of these semi-vowels is similarly noticeable with some examples in § 11.

§ 10. *Diphthongs and the method of writing them*.—The only diphthongs which occur in normal grammatical Lamba are falling diphthongs, with the commencing positions of i, u and ə, though instances of the last are extremely rare. When not initial in a syllable, i.e. when preceded by a consonant, these are real diphthongs, having a true “vowel” pronunciation; when, however, the diphthong is initial in a syllable, the first element of the diphthong, i or u, becomes consonantalized and appears as the true semi-vowel, j or w. For this reason, and for the sake of greater simplicity in writing, I have decided to indicate the first element of all diphthongs commencing in i or u by the semi-vowels.

(i) *First Series* :—*ie, iɛ, ia, io, iu.*

kɪɛ:sɔ (our),	written	kje:sɔ.
fɪɛŋkɔ (alone),	„	fjɛŋkɔ.
kɪaɲɲ (my),	„	kjaɲɲ.
kɪioŋgɔɬɪ (millipede),	„	kjoŋgɔɬɪ.
fɪo:nɛɛ (all),	„	fjo:nɛɛ.
ɪfiu:nɪ (birds),	„	ɪfju:nɪ.

Notice that with the palatal consonants, such as c and ɟ, pure vowels only may be used; thus we find fjakwɛ, but ɟakwɛ and cakwɛ.

(ii) *Second Series* :—*ui, ue, uɛ, ua, uo.*

<sup>1</sup> Or ɪɲɲɲ.

<sup>2</sup> Or ukwɛ:jekɔ.

<sup>3</sup> Or ɪmbo:wo.

úkúṗbá:jq (to kill),	written úkwṗbá:jq.
avasóṭóṭwēḍ (judges),	„ avasóṭóṭwēḍ.
pḥūēḥ (thrush),	„ pḥwēḥ.
ukusūṗ (to ooze out),	„ ukuswq.
ukutēmūḍ:muntṗ (to love a person),	„ ukutēmwó:muntṗ.

(iii) *Third Series* :—**ōṭ**.

é:kōṭḥ (he is here).

é:kōṭḥ (he was present).

The semi-vowels **j** and **w** are further dealt with in § 32.

§ 11. *Vowels in juxtaposition*.—In Lamba two vowels often occur in juxtaposition, forming separate syllables. They must not, then, be confused with diphthongs.

amatṗ (ashes).	akaundṗ (little jigger).
móṭaukq (jump about).	ṛ:undṗ (jigger).
iciko:q <sup>1</sup> (edible melon).	maṛq (to-morrow).
amaq <sup>2</sup> (millet).	cá:e:akq <sup>3</sup> (it was brittle).
umwe:q <sup>4</sup> (life).	inte:ṗ ("sore-eyes" flower).
fjá:kónaukq (they are broken in pieces).	

§ 12. *Devocalization or elision of final ɿ*.—An interesting feature of Lamba phonetics is the devocalization or more commonly the entire elision of final **ɿ**, whenever the syllables **thɿ** or **ḍɿ** come final in a sentence. Examples :—

umuthɿ or umuth (tree).
icithɿ or icith (stick).
ɪŋkambathɿ:th.
umuḍɿ or umuḍ (village).
umusámbiḍ (teacher).
avasóṭóṭwēḍ (judges).
iciveḍ (knife), but iciveḍɿ cṗṗṗ (my knife).
pḥa:pḍ (down) :

áḥḥēḥ pḥa:pḍ (he lay on the ground), but áḥḥēḥ  
pḥa:pḍɿ lukṵṣṣ, where the **ɿ** appears again when the word  
is not final in the sentence.

<sup>1</sup> Also heard as iciko:wq.<sup>2</sup> „ „ „ amawq.<sup>3</sup> „ „ „ cá:e:jaka.<sup>4</sup> „ „ „ umwe:wq or even umwe:jṗ.

(b) *Emitted Consonants*§ 13. *Chart of Emitted Consonants :—*

	Bilabial.	Denti- labial.	Supra- dental.	Alveolar.	Palatal.	Velar.
Explosive { Radical Aspirated Voiced	p <sup>h</sup> b		t d	th d	c ch j	k g
Nasal: Voiced	m	ɱ	n	n	ɲ	ŋ
Fricative { Radical Voiced	v	f		s	ʃ	
Lateral: Voiced				l		
Flapped-lateral: V.				ɫ		
Semi-vowel: Voiced					j	w

§ 14. *Observations upon the Lamba Consonantal System.*—The Lamba consonantal system is comparatively simple. It is typically Bantu, and yet shows a much simpler classification than do the south-eastern languages, such as Zulu, Suto, etc. All the consonants are emitted, that is to say, no implosives, clicks or reversed sounds are employed in the normal grammatical speech. The full range of homorganic nasals is typically Bantu. The presence of slight aspiration is noteworthy, this aspiration being found always with the bilabial explosive, under certain circumstances with the “dento-alveolar”, with certain speakers with the palatal, but never with the velar. With the “dento-alveolar” explosive it is the influence of the vowel ɪ (or the semi-vowel j) which causes true alveolar position of th and d, and similarly with the nasal, n. ɪ (or j) further influences s, causing it to give place to the palatal fricative ʃ.

In Lamba, the voiced explosives are not used apart from their homorganic nasal, with the one exception of b, which may appear initial if followed by the semi-vowel w.

The fricative system is incomplete in its lack of voiced forms, with the exception of the bilabial, which is typically Central Bantu.



The flapped-lateral is a sound which is found in several Bantu languages, but which is unknown in European tongues.

There are two things noticeably absent from the Lamba consonantal system. In Lamba there are no glottal sounds and no affricates.<sup>1</sup>

§ 15. *The Bilabial Explosives*.—The unvoiced bilabial explosive is pronounced much as in normal English with a very slight aspiration, which, in a close transcription would be indicated by **ph**. In a broad transcription, **p** would be a sufficient symbol. In Lamba **ph** occurs in conjunction with the homorganic nasal **m**, and followed by the semi-vowels **w** and **j**.

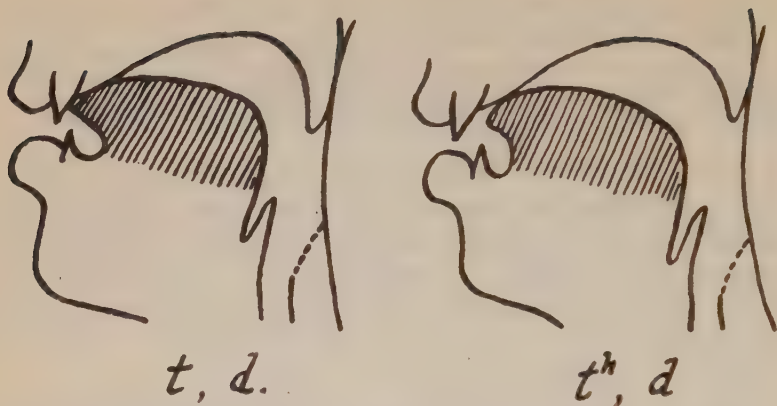
<b>ph</b>	<b>ukuphɑ</b> (to give).	<b>aphɑ</b> (here).
<b>mph</b>	<b>phampħɑ</b> (cut up meat).	<b>va:mpħɑ</b> (they gave to me).
<b>phw</b>	<b>phwɪʃɑ</b> (dry up).	<b>ukuphƿɑ</b> (to dry).
<b>phj</b>	<b>cha:phjɑ</b> (it is cooked).	<b>ukuphjɑ</b> (to be cooked).
<b>mphw</b>	<b>ɪmphƿɑ</b> (capsicum).	
<b>mphj</b>	<b>ɪmphjanɪ</b> (heir).	

In Lamba the voiced bilabial explosive is only found preceded by the homorganic nasal **m**, or succeeded by the semi-vowel **w**. Many European speakers are apt to pronounce Lamba **v** (bilabial fricative) as the English **b**, and this tendency must be avoided. In Lamba, as far as could be ascertained, there is no voicing during the stop, when **b** occurs initial, as in the combination **bw**.

<b>bw</b>	<b>bwɪ:nɑ</b> (carefully).
<b>mb</b>	<b>mbá</b> (here they are, Cl.Ip.).
<b>mbw</b>	<b>ɪ:mbƿɑ</b> (dog).
<b>mbj</b>	<b>ɪ:mbjɑ</b> (cooking pots, small).

§ 16. *The Supra-dental and Alveolar Explosives*.—In Lamba **t** and **d** have tongue-positions varying with the vowel with which they are used. When followed by **ɪ** or **j**, the tongue is retracted to the alveolar position, and the actual tip of the tongue does not make the contact, but a portion slightly behind the tip. In this case, also, the **t** is slightly aspirated as in normal Southern English. **t** and **d**, when followed by any vowel other than **ɪ**, or by **w**, are fully dental, the tip and front of the tongue touching the upper front teeth. In this case the **t** is devoid of aspiration. The following diagrams illustrate the tongue-positions :—

<sup>1</sup> Except one doubtful one, which is noticed in § 17.



The homorganic nasal, *n*, may precede either *t* or *t<sup>h</sup>*; in the first case it is supra-dental *n*, in the second case alveolar *n*.

Examples of *t* :—

<i>t</i>	<i>ukutuva</i> (to be white).	<i>mutova</i> (double tooth).
	<i>vátatá</i> (my father).	<i>tutə</i> (cassava).
	<i>təmə</i> (cut).	<i>tulukufwa:ja</i> (we want).
<i>tw</i>	<i>ukutwá</i> (to be sharp).	<i>ukutwí:há</i> (to be sharp).
<i>nt</i>	<i>ifintá</i> (things).	<i>tantá</i> (dip).
<i>ntw</i>	<i>vá:ntwa:lá</i> (they took me).	

Examples of *t<sup>h</sup>* :—

<i>t<sup>h</sup></i>	<i>t<sup>h</sup>intá</i> (pull).	<i>umuthí</i> (tree).
	<i>t<sup>h</sup>íná</i> (fear).	<i>icithíná</i> (tin).
<i>thj</i>	<i>icithjəthjələ</i> (fowl dung).	
<i>nth</i>	<i>vá:hithinhíhə</i> (they pulled).	

Note.—The combination *thj* is not a very common one in Lamba, and it is usually confused by Europeans, and even by some natives with *c*. It is found, however, usually preceding the vowel *ə*, e.g. *mutjhəkə*, *thjəŋkəthjəŋkə* (names of two village headmen).

Examples of *d* :—

<i>nd</i>	<i>phindá</i> (accuse).	<i>imphe:ndwá</i> (ant-bear).
	<i>ukundundíhə</i> (to add on for me).	

*d* is not found in Lamba apart from the homorganic nasal *n*.

§ 17. *The Palatal Explosives*.—The use of these explosives is shared by several of the Central Bantu tribes; but it is not to be taken for granted that they are a feature of Bantu generally. A language, even so geographically close to Lamba as is Tonga of the

middle-Zambezi, uses the pre-palatal affricate **tʃ** in place of **c**, and **dʒ** in place of **ɟ**; while Bemba, still closer linguistically and geographically, uses palatalized forms of **tʃ** and **dʒ**. **c** and **ɟ**, however, are simple explosive consonants, formed with the back of the tongue (much that portion used in forming **k** and **g**) brought forward to touch the hard palate. The tongue tip never comes into contact with the palate, and is kept in a more or less neutral position or against the lower front teeth. Following is the tongue-position diagram for Lamba **c** and **ɟ** :—



In Lamba **c** is often pronounced with a slight aspiration as **ch**, and this aspiration with some speakers is almost equivalent to the palatal fricative **ç**, in which case an affricate **cç** is formed, and this and its voiced form **ɟɟ** constitute the only affricates possible to Lamba. The employment of **c** and **ch** seems to be quite arbitrary and non-significant. With all palatal sounds there is an accompanying **j**-glide which is inseparable from the complete pronunciation of the consonant. This glide is not indicated by any separate symbol. There is a certain inter-relation between **c** and **k**, which will be explained in the next paragraph. **c** and **ch** may be preceded by the homorganic palatal nasal, **ɲ**.

**c** or **ch**

**ce:phq** or **che:phq** (be insufficient).

**ce:tekeɬq** (believe).

**icu:nɪ** (grass). **icu:nɛ** (indeed).

**icu:nɪ** (bird). **icu:phq** (marriage compensation).

**ico:sq** (duck).

**ɲc** or **ɲch**

**ɲci** (here it is).

The voiced form, **ɟ**, does not occur in Lamba apart from the homorganic nasal **ɲ**. With a few speakers, a slow release of this explosive results in the affricate **ɟɟ**, but like **cç** this is non-significant.

There is a certain inter-relation between **j** and **g**, which will be explained in the next paragraph.

<b>ɲ</b>	<b>cɛ:ɲɲ</b> (mine).	<b>ɲɲɪk</b> (enter).
	<b>ɲɲɪɪ</b> (wild pig).	<b>cɛ:ɲɲɪk</b> (beware).
	<b>umuce:ɲɲ</b> (species of tree).	
	<b>ɲɲɪɪk</b> (yonder it is).	<b>ɪ:ɲɲ</b> (lechwe).

§ 18. *The Velar Explosives*.—These are pronounced as in English with the back of the tongue raised to touch the soft palate, but in Lamba the unvoiced explosive is practically devoid of aspiration. Lamba **k** is never found before the vowel **ɪ**; when, in grammatical morphology **ɪ** would naturally follow it, the palatal **c** is substituted for **k**. Similarly **k** is not found before **e**, though it occurs quite frequently before **ɛ**. The homorganic nasal **ɲ** may occur before **k**.

<b>k</b>	<b>ukukakɔ</b> (to tie).	<b>ukukɛ:ɲɔ</b> (to deny).
	<b>ukukɔɪɪɪk</b> (to be angry).	
	<b>umukondɔ</b> (track).	
<b>kw</b>	<b>ukwekɛɪwa</b> (it is fitting).	
<b>ɲk</b>	<b>ɲkɔndɔ</b> (war).	<b>ɲkɛ</b> (here it is).
<b>ɲkw</b>	<b>ɲkwɔ</b> (bark cloth).	

Owing to vowel influence, since **k** cannot precede **ɪ**, **c** is at times substituted for **k**. The following examples of verb-perfect formations will make this clear :—

<b>kakɔ</b>	>	<b>nɔ:ɪkɔɪɪk</b> (I tied).
<b>lekɔ</b>	>	<b>nɔ:ɪlekɛɪk</b> (I left off).
<b>ɪɪkɔ</b>	>	<b>nɔ:ɪɪɪkɛɪk</b> (I cooked).
<b>pɔ:kɔ</b>	>	<b>nɔ:ɪpɔ:kɛɪk</b> (I received).
<b>ku:kɔ</b>	>	<b>nɔ:ɪku:kɛɪk</b> (I moved house).

The voiced velar explosive **g** is never found in Lamba apart from the homorganic nasal **ɲ**. Unlike **k**, **ɲg** in Lamba is occasionally found followed by **ɪ**, though the use of the palatal **ɲj** is more common on such occasions.

<b>ɲgɛ</b>	(here they are).
<b>ɲgɛ:na:ɲgɛ</b>	(more commonly <b>ɲgɛ:na:ɲjɛ</b> , let me walk lamely).
<b>ɲgɪ</b>	(here he is).
<b>umuhja:ɲgɔ</b>	(doorway).
<b>ɲgɪnɔ</b>	(more commonly <b>ɲjɪnɔ</b> , here it is here).

In forming applied stems from such verbs as **tangga** (begin), both **-ɲgɪ-** and **-ɲj-** forms are heard from different speakers; thus: **tɔngɪkɔ** or **tɔɲɪkɔ** (go on ahead).



ŋg is also used with the velar semi-vowel, forming ŋgw :

icɪŋgwɑ (phenomenon).

ŋgwɛnɑ (crocodile).

mbɔŋgwɪɛ:nɪkɑ (extract it for me).

ukɪŋgwó:muntɪ (a person being created).

§ 19. *The Nasals in Lamba*.—The four nasals, m, n, ɲ and ŋ, occur in Lamba directly before vowels, and the five nasals, m, ɲ, n, ɲ and ŋ are used homorganically before explosives and fricatives of corresponding organic position. There are two types of n, the supra-dental and the alveolar, making in all six types of nasals employed. As will be seen from Section (c) there are cases in which each of these nasals is used syllabically with the power of a vowel.

§ 20. *The Bilabial Nasal*.—Pronounced as m in English, and used

(a) before vowels, e.g.

amalɑ (intestines).

ɪmɪthɪ (trées).

ákátɛmɔ (axe).

ma:ŋgɛ<sup>1</sup> (let me bind).

mɪnɛ<sup>1</sup> (let me swallow).

(b) before semi-vowels, e.g.

umwé:ɔ (life).

mjanggɑ (lick).

cɪwá:mjɛ (make it nice).

(c) homorganically before p<sup>h</sup> and b, e.g.

p<sup>h</sup>amphɑ (cut up meat).

ɪmbwɑ (dog).

§ 21. *The Denti-labial Nasal*.—This nasal consonant is pronounced with the lip-teeth contact necessary for the pronunciation of f and v. This is only used homorganically, immediately preceding f.

ɲfɪnɑ (here they are).

fjɔ:ɲfjɔntɑ (suck repeatedly).

This nasal is also found in Zulu and many other Bantu languages.

§ 22. *The Supra-dental and Alveolar Nasals*.—Before ɪ, n is alveolar, but before all other vowels or the semi-vowel w, n is supra-dental. When used homorganically, n is alveolar before s, t<sup>h</sup> and alveolar d, while it is supra-dental before t and supra-dental d.

Examples of supra-dental n :—

(a) before vowels :

thɪ:nɑ (fear).

nɛ:mbɛ<sup>1</sup> (let me write).

nu:nde<sup>1</sup> (let me add).

ŋganɔŋkɛ<sup>1</sup> (let me get rich).

<sup>1</sup> Wrongly indicated as syllabic or " long " in my *Grammar of the Lamba Language*, pp. 6 and 7.

(b) before semi-vowel *w* :

*ukunwə* (to drink).

(c) homorganically before *t* and supra-dental *d* :

*icintɔ* (thing).

*phindɔ* (accuse).

Examples of alveolar *n* :—

(a) before the vowel *i* :

*utu:nɪ* (birds).

*vo:fwé:nikɔ* (help them).

(b) homorganically before *s*, *th* and alveolar *d* :

*inse:nsɛ* (under the eaves).      *vá:hɪp<sup>h</sup>inthɪɛ* (they carried).

*ndime* (let me hoe).

§ 23. *The Palatal Nasal*.—In the production of this nasal the tongue position is as for *c* and *j* (§ 17), but the velum is lowered opening the passage to the nose. The necessary palatal glide is always an integral part of this sound. In formation and acoustic effect, this nasal is almost identical with the Romance palatal nasal found in such words as French *rɛɲ* or Italian *kampɔɲa*. *ɲ* occurs in Lamba before vowels but never before semi-vowels :

*i:ɲɔ* (yes).

*ɲɪnɔ* (his mother).

*ɲumbɛ* (let me sing).

*icɪɲɛɲɛ* (duiker "pipe").

*ɲundɔɲɪɛ* (let me be the last one left).

As homorganic nasal *ɲ* appears before *c*, *j* and *ʃ* :

*ɲeɪnɔ* (here it is).

*i:ɲʃɔ* (duiker).

*ʃɪɪcɛ:ɲɛ:kɛ* (they are cunning).

§ 24. *The Velar Nasal*.—Pronounced as *ŋ* in the Southern English pronunciation of *singing*. This sound is quite commonly used in Lamba before vowels and the semi-vowel *w*, though not quite as frequently as it is in Bemba; for instance Bemba *ɪŋwɛnɔ* (crocodile) is in Lamba *ɪŋgwɛnɔ*.

Examples :—

*ɲgɔɲɔ:tɛ* (let me snarl).

*vd:hɪɪŋwɪŋwɪʃɪʃɛ* (they mumbled).

*umɪɲɔɲɔ* (grumbling).

*ɪŋandɔ* (hut).

As homorganic nasal *ŋ* appears before *k* and *g* :

*ɪŋkɔndɔ* (war).

*ukulɔŋgulukɔ* (to think).

§ 25. *The Homorganic Nasal and Nasal Permutations in Lamba*.—The subjectival and objectival concords of the first person singular in

Lamba consist of a nasal consonant, and the form of this nasal consonant depends upon what consonant or vowel immediately follows it in the word. In the same way the form of the nasal in the prefixes of Class 5 and Class 6 plural nouns depends upon the initial vowel or consonant of the noun stem. The principle which governs the form of the nasal is in the main that of homorganization. The following are the main rules for nasal permutation in Lamba :—

*Rule 1.*—The homorganic nasal appears before all consonants :—

- (a) *m* before *p<sup>h</sup>* and *b*.  
*mp<sup>h</sup>ap<sup>h</sup>ɛ* (< *p<sup>h</sup>ap<sup>h</sup>a*, carry pick-a-back).  
*ɪmp<sup>h</sup>wɔ* (capsicum).  
*mbwe:ʒɛ* (< *bwe:ʒɔ*, restore).  
*ɪmbwɔ* (dog).
- (b) *ɱ* before *f*.  
*ɱfume* (< *fumɔ*, go out).  
*ɱɟʋʋ* (hippopotamus).
- (c) *n* before *t*, *t<sup>h</sup>*, and *s*.  
*ntulɔ* (< *tulɔ*, dig).  
*ɪntalɔ* (cooking-pot).  
*nt<sup>h</sup>ɪnɛ* (< *t<sup>h</sup>ɪnɔ*, press).  
*ɪnt<sup>h</sup>ɪŋga* (tit-mouse).  
*nsʊmɪnɛ* (< *sʊmɪnɔ*, agree).  
*ɪnsansɔ* (sieve).
- (d) *ɲ* before *c* and *ʒ*.  
*ɲcɪtɔ* (< *cɪtɔ*, do).  
*ɪɲcɛmɔ* (lynx).  
*ɲʒanɛ* (< *ʒanɔ*, dance).  
*ɪɲʒɔ* (duiker).
- (e) *ŋ* before *k*.  
*ŋkakɛ* (< *kakɔ*, tie).  
*ŋkɔndɔ* (war).

*Rule 2.*—The nasal influence upon stems commencing in the bilabial voiced fricative causes the fricative to become explosive, the nasal then appearing as the homorganic nasal, and the result being *mb* :—

*mbɔnɛ* (< *vɔnɔ*, see).  
*ɪmbɛvɔ* (mouse, < -*vɛvɔ*).

2a. With noun-stems, however, if the second syllable contain a nasal compound,<sup>1</sup> the *b* is elided, the homorganic nasal, *m*, alone remaining :—

*imaggə* (bonds, < -*vaggə*).  
*iməggulq* (hemp, < -*vaggula*).  
*imansq* (courtyards, < -*vansa*).

With verb-stems the retension or elision of the *b* is optional :—  
*mbəngɛ* or *məngɛ* (let me bind < -*vəng-*).

*Rule 3.*—Nasal influence upon stems commencing in lateral and flapped-lateral consonants causes those consonants to give place to the voiced supradental or alveolar explosive, the nasal then appearing as the homorganic nasal, and the result being *nd* :—

*ndamɛ* (< *lamq*, take care of).  
*ndəlɔ* (aperture < -*lələ*).  
*ndɪrɛ* (< *ɪrɪq*, eat for).  
*ndɪrɔ* (ability to eat < -*ɪrɪɔ*).

3a. With noun-stems, however, if the second syllable contain a nasal compound,<sup>1</sup> the *d* is elided, the homorganic nasal, *n*, alone remaining :—

*nɛmbɔ* (tattoo < -*lɛmbɔ*).  
*nɪmbuɪrɪq* (yellow fungus < *lɪmbuɪrɪq*).

With verb-stems the retension or elision of the *d* is optional :—

*ndɛmbɛ* or *nɛmbɛ* (let me write < *lɛmb-*).  
*ndundɛ* or *nundɛ* (let me add < *lund-*).

*Rule 4.*—Before stems commencing in the nasal consonants *m*, *n*, *ɲ*, and *ŋ*, no additional nasal appears :—

*minɛ* (let me swallow < *minq*).  
*nɔŋkɛ* (let me get rich < *nɔŋkq*).  
*ɲantɛ* (let me tread < *ɲantq*).  
*ŋatɛ* (let me snarl < *ŋatq*).

*Rule 5.*—Before the vowels *ɪ*, *e*, and *ɛ*,<sup>2</sup> and in place of the semi-vowel *j*, the palatal nasal compound, *ɲj*, is used :—

<sup>1</sup> Such as *mb*, *mpʰ*, *ɲf*, *nt*, *nd*, *ns*, *ɲc*, *ɲj*, *ɲɟ*, *ɲk*, *ɲg*.

<sup>2</sup> *ɲg* is sometimes used before *e* and *ɛ*; for instance, *ɲge:ɟɛ* is heard more commonly than *ɲje:ɟɛ* (let me try < *e:ɟq*). Notice also *ɲɛŋgɛ* (species of tree < -*ɛŋgɛ*). See Rule 6a.



- ɲɪmɛ (let me get up <ɪmq).  
 ɪɲɪɪɪ (water-beetles <-ɪɪɪ).  
 ɪɲɛɛɛkɔ (corn-measure <-ɛɛkɔ).  
 ɲɔʋɛɛɛ (let me shout <ɔʋɛɛɛ).  
 ɪɲɛɪɔ (notes on "akalimba" <-ɲɛɪɔ).

5a. If the second syllable of the stem, however, contain a nasal compound, the ɲ is elided, the homorganic nasal, ɲ, alone remaining :—

- ɲɪmbɛ (let me sing <ɪmbq).  
 ɪɲɪmbɔ (songs <-ɪmbɔ).  
 ɪɲɛ:ndɔ (journeys <-ɛ:ndɔ).  
 ɲɪndɑɲɲɪɛ (let me be the last one left <ɲɪndɑɲɲɪɛ).  
 ɪɲɑndɛ (corn-stalks <-ɲɑndɛ).

Rule 6.—Before all vowels other than ɪ, ɛ, and ɛ, and before the semi-vowel w, the velar nasal compound, ɲg, is used :—

- ɲgɔʋukɛ (let me cross over <ɔʋukq).  
 ɪɲgɔɪɔ (mane <-ɔɪɔ).  
 ɲgɔʋɛ (let me row >ɔʋq).  
 ɪɲgɔmɔ (drum <-ɔmɔ).  
 ɲgu:pɛɛ (let me marry <u:pɛq).  
 ɪɲgumɔ (head wounds <-umɔ).  
 ɲgwɛɛɛ (let me shout <wɛɛq).  
 ɪɲgwɛnɔ (crocodile <-wɛnɔ).

6a. If the second syllable of the stem, however, contain a nasal compound, the g is elided, the homorganic nasal, ɲ, alone remaining :—

- ɲantɛ (let me toss <antq).  
 ɪɲambɪ (infection <-ambu).  
 ɲɔɲkɛ (let me suck <ɔɲkq).  
 ɪɲɔmbɛ (cattle <-ɔmbɛ).  
 ɲumfwɛ (let me hear <umfwq).  
 ɪɲumbɔ (barren woman <-umba).

§ 26. *The Fricatives*.—Lamba is comparatively poor in fricative sounds ; there is only one voiced fricative, and but three unvoiced. In this Lamba resembles Afrikaans. With many languages, as for instance with English and Zulu, practically every unvoiced fricative has its voiced counterpart ; but with Lamba there is no correspondence at all.

§ 27. *The Bilabial Fricative*. — This is sometimes called "bilabial-v" or "fricative-b", and is common to most of the Central

Bantu languages. In its formation the lips are close enough together to cause vibration as the voiced sound passes through. The teeth play no part in the production of this sound, and the tongue-position is immaterial. In many cases Europeans have mis-heard this sound, and recorded it as *b* or *v* or *w*. Hitherto in Lamba books it has been recorded as *w̃*. The influence of the nasal upon this sound, as has been seen, is to change it to the bilabial voiced explosive, **b**. Examples of *v* :—

**vona** (see).

avānavāṇkaḥ (brethren).

ùkuva (to become).

ukuvitha (to boil).

v is found followed by the palatal semi-vowel, j :—

ujo:la (belch).

vyatā (flash).

181vjakwε (its mates).

§ 28. *The Denti-labial Fricative*.—This is pronounced as in English with upper front teeth against lower lip. In Lamba, **f** does not occur before the vowels **e** or **ε**, and only one word has been recorded of **f** before **a**, viz. **lafdw:rq** (babble). It is used extensively, however, before the other vowels, and with the semi-vowels **w** and **j**. The homorganic nasal **m** is the only nasal occurring before **f** in Lamba.

f. fika (arrive).

fo:ma (spout).

**fuma** (come out).

fw. fwala (dress).

few (we, us).

fwika (clothe).

phafwó:muntu (there has died a person).

fj. fja:pɪ (mine).

ἰσχυρὰ (affairs).

fjo:nse (all things).

fjuka (escape).

mf. infūminō (egress).

1:mfwa (death).

imfjə (kidneys).

§ 29. *The Alveolar Fricative.*—With most of the speakers examined *s* in Lamba was truly alveolar, though one speaker had a tendency to dentalize. In Lamba *s* is never followed by the vowel *i* or the semi-vowel *j*; when, morphologically an *i* should follow *s*, the latter gives place to the palatal fricative *ʃ*.

### Examples of s:

s. 1sq (come ; but applied form 1f1ha, come for).

icisɛndɛmɛ (crooked).

ukusòsòhà (to prick).

suma (bite).

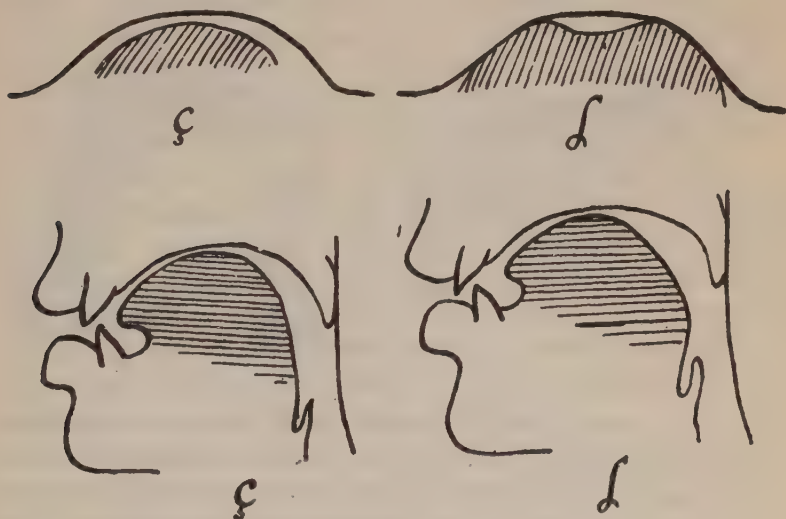
sw.    *ɲɲɪswɪ :éko* (open for me).

ukuswa (to leak).

ng.    *insɛ:nsɛ* (space beneath the eaves).

§ 30. *The Palatal Fricative*.—In Lamba this is a type of palatalized *j*, being formed with the narrowing between tongue and palate further back than for the post-alveolar or pre-palatal position of the regular *j*, causing the characteristic *j*-glide (the feature of all true palatals) to accompany it. The difference between *ʃ* (the symbol employed for this sound) and *ç* is not one of tongue-position so much as of tongue-shape. In the case of *ç* the central portion of the tongue is raised towards the palate, while in the case of *ʃ* the sides of the tongue are raised while the centre is troughed. Further in the former case the back of the tongue is kept raised fairly high, whilst in the latter the back recedes to a lower position very rapidly from the point of narrowing.

The following tongue-position diagrams will approximately illustrate the positions :—



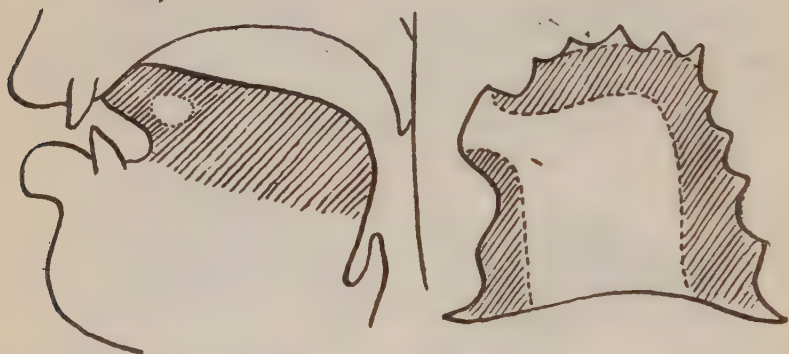
Examples :—

<i>ʃ</i>	<i>ʃ</i> alq (remain).	<i>ʃ</i> e:su (ours).
	<i>ʃ</i> ih <sub>1</sub> <i>ʃ</i> ih <sub>1</sub> ɛ (they are finished).	
<i>ɲ</i>	<i>ɲ</i> :pɛq (duiker).	<i>ɲ</i> :pɛç (locusts).
	ukup <sub>1</sub> <i>ʃ</i> u <sub>1</sub> wi:ɛq (to uproot for me).	
	ama <sub>1</sub> <i>ʃ</i> ɛŋkɔŋqɔ (reviling).	

In cases where words ending in *-ʃ*<sub>1</sub> become final in a sentence, the vowel is elided, *ʃ* thus ending a word, e.g. *pɛɲɛʃ* (down).

§ 31. *The Laterals*.—Lamba employs two voiced lateral sounds, one of which is the true *l* differing in no significant way from the

“clear-l” of Southern English. The other, however, has been the cause of considerable confusion and orthographical difficulty. To the untrained ear, under certain circumstances, this appears to be l, under other circumstances r, and under others d. It is, however, quite distinct in formation from all three of those sounds. In real acoustic effect this sound is akin to the Bushman “flapped retroflex consonant”,<sup>1</sup> and even closer akin to the Chwana equivalent,<sup>2</sup> for which the symbol ɭ is used. Lamba ɭ, however, differs from these two sounds in the following important respects: (i) it is not palatal but alveolar in its point of contact, (ii) it is not retroflex but direct in its formation, and (iii) in release the escape of air is almost entirely lateral. For these reasons I have termed this consonant “the flapped lateral”. The following are the approximate tongue-position diagram and palatograph<sup>3</sup> for ɭ.



There is something about this sound, which suggests the implosive-d (ɗ), but in the case of ɭ the whole movement is outwards, and there is not complete contact with both the sides of the tongue, a space being left on one side at least for the lateral emission of air. The sound then is neither implosive nor explosive. The tip of the tongue is brought smartly up to touch the alveolus (one side at least, however, not touching), and is then flapped forwards-downwards with a single flap, the air escaping in the first place laterally. This was tested by getting natives to pronounce the sound reversed, i.e. while breathing inwards, the result being cooling over the sides of the tongue, and not over the centre-front.

<sup>1</sup> As described in my article in *Bantu Studies*, Vol. II, No. 3, p. 141.

<sup>2</sup> See Jones and Plaatje, *A Sechuana Reader*, p. xx.

<sup>3</sup> This was from my own pronunciation with artificial palate, as I had no opportunity of conducting palatograph experiments with Lamba natives.



True l is not used in Lamba before the vowel i, and seldom before e or ε, being most commonly found before a, ə, o, and u.

Examples of l :—

mbulɛ (let me tell).	lekq (leave alone).
la:lq (sleep).	lɔvɪlq (speak).
sɔ:ŋgalalq (rejoice).	lɔŋgɔləkq (unpack).
lo:tq (dream).	lu:kq (vomit).
vɔ:lukulu:kq (they are vomiting).	

The flapped lateral occurs before all vowels, and in conjunction with the semi-vowels w and j (which are never used with l). Examples :

ɫ ɫɪmbɪ (another).	ɫɛ:tq (bring).
ɪ:ɪkɪlq (go away for good).	tɪɪɪɛ:ɪɛ (we are lying down).
pɔb:pɔləkq (unpeg).	pɔɛ:mbɛɛɛɛɛɛ (await).
pɪɪɪɪɪɪɪɪɪɪ (pass right on).	fɪ:mbuɪɪɪɪɪ (unthatch).
vɔ:lɛ:ɪɛ:ɪɛ (they remained).	fɪɪɪpɪɪɪɪɪɪɪ (they are light).
ɫw ɫwɔ:lq (be ill).	
ndɪɫwɛ:ɪɛ (I am ill).	ukwɛɛɛɫwɛ (to be fitting).
ɫj ɪɫjɔ:lq (nail).	ɫjɛ:sɔ (our).
ɫjɔŋgɔɫɪ (millipede).	

§ 32. *The Semi-vowels.*—As was observed in § 10, the semi-vowels in Lamba are lightly and deliberately enunciated, and constitute in reality the commencing points of two series of falling diphthongs. This is especially noticeable when the semi-vowels are preceded by other consonants. The diphthongization is less apparent when the semi-vowel is initial in a syllable. The tongue-positions of these semi-vowels are as for the vowels i and u.

Examples of j (palatal semi-vowel) :—

j jɔpɪ (my).	jɛŋkq (it only).
vɔ:ɪjɪvɪɪɪɪɪɪɪ (they sheltered).	
jɔ:nɛ (all of it).	
jw twɔ:ɪvɔjwɪɪɪɪɪɪɪ <sup>1</sup> (they cocked up their ears).	

Examples of w (velar semi-vowel) :—

w ɪ:wɛmɛ (good).	fja:wamq (they are good).
ukuwq (to fall).	ɪ:ɫɪwɪ (word).

### (c) Syllabic Nasals.

§ 33. Syllabic Nasals cannot properly be classified under the heading of consonants. They have vowel effect in words. It is difficult,

<sup>1</sup> In this example, the only one of its kind found hitherto in Lamba, the true semi-vowel is clearly seen.

however, to treat them along with the other vowels, as they cannot be indicated on a vowel chart. For these reasons they are treated in a section by themselves.

In Lamba, in normal grammatical phonetics, syllabic nasals are rarely used, the only instances recorded being of the first person subjectival concord with monosyllabic verb stems. In these cases the syllabic nasals have the vowel resonance of *i*, so that *m̥* sounds almost like *im*, *n̥* like *in*, etc. The following syllabic nasals are found in Lamba : *m̥*, *n̥*, *ɲ̥*, and *ŋ̥*.

Examples :—

*m̥:bɛ* (let me become).

*ɲ̥:fwɛ* (let me die).

*n̥:dʒɛ* (let me eat).

*ŋ̥:ʒɛ* (let me go).

*ŋ̥:gwe* (let me fall).

In each of the above cases, the nasal constitutes a complete syllable, and at that a long one.

#### (d) *Duretics*

§ 34. Duretics, the study of syllable length, is extremely important, in Lamba, because in many cases length is semantically significant, that is to say, a change of syllable length often indicates a change of meaning in a word. Apart from "prolonged length", which we relegate to the sphere of extra-normal phonetics, there are two lengths in Lamba which must be carefully distinguished; these are seen in the short syllable and the long syllable. The latter is indicated by the symbol :, e.g. *vd:hciθhɪɛ* (they made), and *i:muŋ* (mucus) in contrast to the vowel in *imithɪ* (trees).

It was noticed in § 8 that length is an important factor governing the quality of mid-forward and mid-back vowels. Its main importance, however, is in distinguishing many pairs of words, phonetically alike but differing in meaning. Usually a change of tone accompanies the change of length. Words in which this double distinction is shown are dealt with in § 47.

#### § 35. *Examples of Semantic Length.*

*umwakuja* (wherein to go).

*umwa:kujə* (wherein he will go).

*ukuwāvula* (to scorch).

*ukuwāvu:la* (to tell them).

*sarɪɪɪ* (roast).

*sa:rɪɪɪ* (slander).

*phaɪɪ* (resemble).

*pha:ɪɪ* (beat).

*amakɔsɔ* (strength).

*amakɔ:sɔ* (bangles).

<b>ukuhĩq</b> (to mourn).	<b>ukuhĩ:hq</b> (to eat for).
	<b>uku:hĩq</b> (to buy for).
<b>ukuphɔlq</b> (to get cold).	<b>ukuphɔ:lq</b> (to reach the limit).
<b>uvufĩ</b> (a lie).	<b>uvu:fĩ</b> (marriage).
<b>phá:ĩq</b> (sew).	<b>phá:ĩq</b> (it is finished).
<b>ukuphatq</b> (to have a grudge).	<b>ukupha:tq</b> (to scold).
<b>ukutuhĩb:kɔ</b> (to start from over there).	<b>ukutu:hĩb:kɔ</b> (to put down over there).

(e) *Dynamics*

§ 36. Dynamics, the study of stress, plays the usual Bantu part in Lamba, and, as will be seen from Section (g), the whole Lamba system of word-division is dependent upon the working of stress. The main stress falls, as a more or less regular rule, upon the penultimate syllable of each word or word-group; nevertheless there are isolated cases of words with the main stress on the antepenultimate syllable, and certain enclitics have the effect of lengthening the word without causing a forward movement of the stress. Secondary slighter stresses occur usually on every alternate syllable back from the syllable bearing main stress.

§ 37. Regular main stress occurs on the penultimate syllable, and moves forward as the word is lengthened by suffixes :—

<b>kákq</b> (tie).	<b>nakákq</b> (I tied).
<b>túlukukákq</b> (we tie).	<b>túlukukákánq</b> (we tie each other).
<b>túlukukákqapáq</b> (we tie one another).	

Notice also :—

<b>ukuká:ĩq</b> (to be red).	<b>fihphuvíq</b> (they are light).
<b>fwévíq</b> (both of us).	

§ 38. When *i* is completely elided, as it sometimes is after **th** and **ʃ**,<sup>1</sup> the main stress appears on the last effective syllable of the word :—

<b>kú:nʃ</b> (down).	<b>umulɔngótʰ</b> (pole).
<b>aké:vo kátá:nʃ</b> (the affair is of first importance).	

§ 39. A few words in Lamba have the main stress upon the antepenultimate syllable, e.g. :—

<b>umwánice</b> (youngster).	<b>umú:ĩce</b> (unmarried person).
<b>i:fí:thĩq</b> (it is black).	<b>avaví:pĩq</b> (evil ones).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 12.

This position of the stress in the first two examples is, no doubt, due to the fact that *-ice* is in reality a formative suffix indicating "smallness". With certain natives I found stress normal in these cases, viz. : *umwǎnícɛ*, *umtǎ́íɛ*.

§ 40. The locative enclitics *-ko*, *-mo*, and *-pho* are suffixed to verbs without drawing forward the stress, which thus remains upon the antepenultimate syllable :—

*vo:fwě:níkɔ* (help them).

*ví:kaphɔ* (put it on).

*ĩpĩrě:nuɔ* (go ye in).

*mbangwĩrě:níkɔ* (extract it for me).

§ 41. With monosyllabic words stress is necessarily upon the final syllable, as every Lamba word *must* have a main stress, e.g. *mbá* (here they are), *ngú* (here he is).

§ 42. An especially heavy stress is found in commands to convey emphasis or to distinguish commands from plain statements :—

*vakálukúja* (they will go).

*vakálukúja* (they must go !).

§ 43. Except in cases where the stress is not upon the penultimate syllable, it has not been marked at all in this phonetic analysis.

§ 44. Stress has varying uses in that part of speech called the Radical Descriptive and in onomatopœic speech. These uses will be examined in Part II of this analysis.

#### (f) *Tone.*

§ 45. Lamba may certainly be described as a "Tone Language". In it the variation of the musical pitch on syllables often causes an entire change of meaning in words. Tone, in such cases, is semantic. In Kongo, K. E. Laman<sup>1</sup> found a nine-tone system used, and my investigations into Zulu<sup>2</sup> revealed the fact that the range of tones in speech, used by a Zulu speaker, covers nine different pitches. Naturally I was prejudiced towards expecting the same in Lamba, but after a very careful and exhaustive investigation, I found that Lamba employs only three tones, all level. This simplifies recording tremendously. The high tone I indicate by the diacritic ' above the vowel, the mid-tone is not indicated at all, and the low tone is marked by the diacritic , beneath the vowel. It will be seen that with the extra-normal phonetics of onomatopœia, etc., the nature and range of the tones are entirely different.

<sup>1</sup> See *The Musical Accent or Intonation in the Kongo Language*, Stockholm, 1922.

<sup>2</sup> See Doke, *The Phonetics of the Zulu Language*, p. 199, University of the Witwatersrand Press, 1926.



Without the necessary scientific instruments at my disposal, it has not been possible to determine the ratio of pitch which these tones evidence. The actual pitch varies with different speakers, and with the same speaker on different occasions. It is the relative pitch of the tones which is the determining factor.

§ 46. Tone is used, semantically, as the only differentiating factor between many words phonetically and duretically alike, but bearing different meanings. Examples:—

<b>akaundu</b> (quail).	<b>akaundu</b> (jigger).
<b>utuundu</b> (quails).	<b>utuundu</b> (jiggers).
<b>va:tutumq</b> (they shivered).	<b>va:tutumq</b> (they sent us).
<b>nakuphamq</b> (I shall strike).	<b>nakuphamq</b> (I struck thee).
<b>ɪɲɪɪɪ</b> (wart hogs).	<b>ɪɲɪɪɪ</b> (river oysters).
<b>umutendɛ</b> (flying ant).	<b>umutendɛ</b> (greeting).
<b>muphamɛ</b> (hit him).	<b>muphamɛ</b> (let me hit him).
<b>mphamɛ</b> (hit me).	<b>mphamɛ</b> (let me hit).
<b>ukufi:mbq</b> (to thatch).	<b>ukufi:mbq</b> (to swell).
<b>umuto:ndq</b> (species of tree).	<b>umuto:ndq</b> (water-pot).

§ 47. Much more common, however, are the words alike phonetically, but differentiated by changes both of length and tone.<sup>1</sup> Examples:—

{ <b>ɪtɪɪɪq</b> (pour out).	{ <b>amalaq</b> (intestines).
{ <b>ɪ:tɪɪɪq</b> (maggot).	{ <b>amq:lq</b> (nails).
{ <b>ɪfikasq</b> (big feet).	{ <b>amaloq</b> (beds).
{ <b>ɪfikq:sq</b> (animal fat).	{ <b>amq:lq</b> (chief's residences).
{ <b>cɪkɪ:ɪɪ</b> <sup>2</sup> (big leg).	{ <b>ɪ:fi:tɪɪɪq</b> (it is black).
{ <b>cɪkɪɪɪ</b> (it is big).	{ <b>ɪfi:tɪɪɪq</b> (black).
{ <b>ukukafɪ:kq</b> (to bury it).	{ <b>ukupɪq</b> (to give).
{ <b>ukukafɪkq</b> (to be red).	{ <b>ukɪ:pɪq</b> (to marry).
{ <b>ukufɪɪq</b> (to nurse).	{ <b>ukupɪsq</b> (to weave).
{ <b>ukufɪ:ɪq</b> (to fade).	{ <b>ukupɪ:sq</b> (to throw away).
{ <b>amasakq</b> (sorghum).	{ <b>ukukɔlq</b> (to stop rain, to catch of
{ <b>amasq:kq</b> (bags).	{ <b>ukukɔ:lq</b> (to cough). [hunger].
{ <b>ukutumq</b> (to send).	{ <b>ɪfi:pɪq</b> (lots).
{ <b>ukutu:mq</b> (to roar, of lion).	{ <b>ɪ:fi:pɪq</b> (powder bag).
{ <b>amapɪq</b> (sections of mushroom).	{ <b>cɪnɪɪɪ</b> (it is meat).
{ <b>amq:pɪq</b> (armpits).	{ <b>cɪndɪ:ɪɪ</b> (what is it ?).

<sup>1</sup> See § 34.

<sup>2</sup> An alternative pronunciation reads **l** for **ɪ** in this case.

{ ukukáninq (to deny for).	{ mǎ:kukǎ (he is big).
{ ukukóni:nq (to climb it).	{ muku:lǎ <sup>1</sup> (along the leg).
{ á:kulǎ (he has got big).	{ úkuphǎ (to give).
{ á:ku:lǎ (things to buy).	{ uku:phǎ (to marry).
{ mbu:lǎ (let me take up).	{ ukutbinq (to press).
{ mbulǎ (let me tell).	{ ukutb:nq (to fear).
{ ukutulǎ (to dig, to shine).	{ ukuvulǎ (to omit).
{ ukutp:lǎ (to put down load).	{ ukuvu:lǎ (to tell, to take up).
{ ukuvu:kǎ (to wake, to steal food).	{ ukuphǎlǎ (to skin, to resemble).
{ ukuvukǎ (to exorcise).	{ ukuphǎ:lǎ (to deposit dung of
{ ukuhǎlǎ (to sound).	{ ukufulǎ (to forge iron). [birds].
{ ukutǎ:lǎ (to feed).	{ ukufulǎ (to be many).
{ uku:hǎlǎ (to buy).	{ ukufu:lǎ (to take off clothes).
{ ukutuhǎ:lǎ (to eat for us).	{ ukuphǎ:lǎ (to give).
{ ukutuhǎlǎ (to mourn us).	{ ukuphǎ:lǎ (to come to an end).
{ ukutuhǎlǎ (to proceed from).	{ ukuphǎlǎ (to grind).
{ ukutú:hǎlǎ (to buy for us).	{ ukuphǎ:lǎ (to swing).
{ ukuku:lǎ (to dig in clods).	
{ ukukulǎ (to grow).	
{ ukukulǎ (to drag).	

§ 48. *Emotional Tone*,<sup>2</sup> i.e. tone used to convey differing emotions, especially that of interrogation, has its place in Lamba. In this language there is no "inversion of word-order", as in English, to differentiate the question from the statement, nor is there any interrogative adverb, such as *na:* in Zulu or *a:m* in Kaonde. In the majority of cases, the change of tone is the only indication of the question. Examples:—

{ wa:ja (he has gone).	{ vakǎlukuja (they will go).
{ wǎ:ja (has he gone?).	{ vakǎlukuja (will they go?).

§ 49. There are, however, instances in which words conveying entirely different meanings, are identical in phone, tone, and length. Several examples of this are given in § 47, where words have more than one meaning, for example:—

- ukutulǎ (1) to dig, (2) to shine.
- ukuvu:kǎ (1) to wake, (2) to steal food.
- ukuphǎlǎ (1) to skin, (2) to resemble.
- ukuvu:lǎ (1) to tell, (2) to take up.

<sup>1</sup> An alternative pronunciation reads *l* for *h* in this case.

<sup>2</sup> See Doke, *The Phonetics of the Zulu Language*, p. 214.

Notice also :—

**mwd:nice** (1) it is a child, (2) spread out to dry.

§ 50. *The Tone in Copulative Construction.*—In forming copulatives, i.e. predicates, from nouns of dissyllabic prefix, the initial vowel of the noun prefix is elided and the tone is usually <sup>1</sup> raised on the remaining syllable of the prefix. Examples :—

- |                                                                          |                                          |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|
| { <b>umuntu</b> <b>ámukulɔ</b> (a big person).                           |                                          |
| { <b>umuntu</b> <b>múkulɔ</b> (the person is big).                       |                                          |
| { <b>umuntu</b> <b>uwé:mɛ</b> (a fine person).                           |                                          |
| { <b>umuntu</b> <b>ú:wé:mɛ</b> (the person is fine).                     |                                          |
| { <b>ujumuntu</b> (this person).                                         |                                          |
| { <b>uju</b> <b>muntɔ</b> (this is the person).                          |                                          |
| { <b>amasana</b> (eggs).                                                 | { <b>avantu</b> (people).                |
| { <b>másana</b> (they are eggs).                                         | { <b>vántɔ</b> (they are people).        |
| { <b>utunɪ</b> (birds).                                                  | { <b>imitɔ:ndɔ</b> (water-pots).         |
| { <b>túnɪ</b> (they are birds).                                          | { <b>mitɔ:ndɔ</b> (they are water-pots). |
| { <b>vó:na</b> <b>cɪjɔcɪntɔ</b> (see yonder thing).                      |                                          |
| { <b>cɪjɔ</b> <b>cɪntɔ</b> <b>lukosɔ</b> (yonder one is merely a thing). |                                          |

With nouns of Class V and the plural of Class VI, **ni-** takes the place of the initial **i-** without change of tone :—

**inama** (an animal).                      **ninama** (it is an animal).

With possessives, the tone is raised without phone change :—

- |                                                     |
|-----------------------------------------------------|
| { <b>ðkatemo</b> <b>kajɪ</b> (my axe).              |
| { <b>ðkatemo</b> <b>kájɪ</b> (the axe is mine).     |
| { <b>ɪfintu</b> <b>fjajɪ</b> (my things).           |
| { <b>ɪfintu</b> <b>fjájɪ</b> (the things are mine). |

§ 51. The characteristic tones of any one word are seen either when that word is isolated or final in a sentence. The tones may change upon words when used initially or medially in a sentence. It is noticeable, for instance, that the low tones on many final syllables of isolated words become mid-tones when those words are used in a sentence, not finally. Notice the tones on **ukuhja** and **ukusa:mba** in the following sentence :—**ukuhja ukwákuvulokusa:mba kúminwɛ — takuvi:fjamuntu — —** (eating with unwashed hands does not defile a person). The low tone on the final syllable of **kúminwɛ** remains, as this word ends a sense-group, and is followed by a short pause.

<sup>1</sup> This is not always the case ; see **cɪnɔnɪ** (it is meat) in § 47. It depends upon the form of the tones on the succeeding syllables.





- (6) *umunwe úmo tautó:lánda* — — One finger does not pick up a louse.
- (7) *fjáisé:fju:ní nénama névanti* — — There have come birds and animals and people.
- (8) *áhlaví:ke néjkaſi ja:kwé* — — He spoke with his sister.
- (9) *ahíbwé:né:nguní — pho:phé:é fjá:lukuja nenguní* — — He saw a honey-guide, and off he and the honey-guide went.
- (10) *újumuntu wa:hí:ke kwákace:ja — sambi ú:hjamuntu wa:hí:ke kwámakəŋkə* — — This person went to Kacheya's, but yonder person went to Makonko's.
- (11) *kdní dñífwí:ke kdní álukulavə* — — Is he dead or is he alive?
- (12) *lamba twá:hífikí:ke né:kufíkə* — — Then we arrived indeed.
- (13) *vá:hímwíphé:je né:kumwípha:ja* — — They killed him in very deed.
- (14) *vá:hítáthíkí:ke úkwípha:ja* — — They began to kill.
- (15) *vaké:se vaké:kaſé* — — Let them come and sit down.
- (16) *cíwá:mjé* — — Make it nice!
- (17) *ímfula íke:sa íkáto:cé* — — The rain will come and fall.

In the above sentences there is main stress upon the penultimate syllable of every word.

§ 54. From an examination of the examples given above, it is seen that many elements hitherto written as separate words are but formative parts going to make up the complete words. These formative parts at times act as prefixed or suffixal inflexions to one part of speech, at times changing it into another part of speech.<sup>1</sup> In the first sentence (§ 53), for instance, the noun *ákasuvə* (sun) has been inflected by the prefixing of the adverbial formative *pha-*, and has become the locative adverb *phákasuvə* (in the sun). Similarly the locative adverbs *kwákace:ja* and *kwámakəŋkə* (in sentence No. 10) have been formed from *kace:ja* and *makəŋkə* by prefixing the locative formative prefix *kwa-*. In the same sentence the words *újumuntu* and *ú:hjamuntu* are in Lamba usage single words. Each, however, is composed of two elements, the word *umuntu* and the demonstrative pronouns *uju* and *u:hja*. The Lamba rule is that, when demonstrative

<sup>1</sup> This aspect of the problem will be dealt with in detail in the second section of this report, that dealing with Lamba grammatical structure.

pronouns are used after the nouns with which they are in apposition, they constitute separate words : but, when used before the nouns, they invariably merge with the nouns to form single substantive groups. Thus *ú:hjamuntu* or *umuntu ú:hja*. Similarly, nouns following verbs stating negative axioms (sentences Nos. 5 and 6) invariably drop their initial vowels, and merge with the negative verb to form a single predicative group. In sentences Nos. 7 and 9, however, the first word in either case constitutes a compound which is due to quick speech, and which could equally well be divided into its component parts : *fjáisa ifju:nj* and *ahibwé:ne ingunj*.

Now, in all these formations and combinations it is evident that the final vowel of the one part will come into contact with the initial vowel of the second part, and when that is so, one of three things must happen :—

- (i) Both vowels remain in juxtaposition ;
- (ii) One vowel be elided ; or
- (iii) The two vowels coalesce.

Vowels in juxtaposition occur within words, and are not, as a rule, due to inflexion or compounding. Examples of these have been given in § 11.

§ 55. *Elision*.—There are two types of elision, (i) initial elision, i.e. elision of the first vowel of the second word or element ; and (ii) final elision, i.e. elision of the last vowel of the first word or element.

(i) *Initial Elision*.

- (a) After the strong *-e* of the perfect stem :

*uá:hicithiye inkumbu* > *uá:hicithiye:inkumbu* (they had mercy).

- (b) After the strong *-o* of a noun followed by an adjective qualifying it :

*káfwaló umukulu* > *káfwaló:mukulu* (a big horse).

- (c) After verbs denoting a negative axiom :

*lo:nda + ingunj* > *tavaló:ndangunj*.<sup>1</sup>

- (d) After the possessive concord in the formation of possessives from nouns <sup>2</sup> :

*ákatemo kamfumu* (the chief's axe) < *umfumu*.

- (e) After the locative prefixes in the formation of locatives from nouns :

<sup>1</sup> See § 53.

<sup>2</sup> In Zulu it is coalescence (see § 56) and not elision which takes place in the formation of possessives.

phákasuvá (in the sun) < ákasuvá.

kuvantú (to the people) < avantú.

§f) After demonstrative pronouns :

ú:hjamuntú (yonder person) < umuntú.

(ii) *Final Elision*.—The -a of subjectival concords and objectival concords, of the future auxiliary -ka-, and of the habitual auxiliary -la-, is elided before vowel-verb stems commencing in the strong vowels e- or o- :

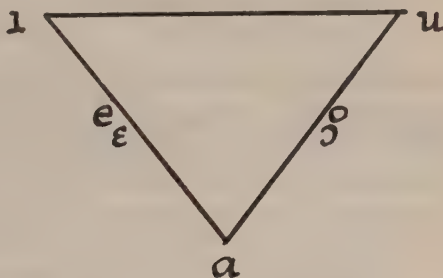
vo:fwéníkò (help ye them) < wa- + o:fwá.

ndukuvé:ŋá (I am trying them) < va- + e:ŋá.

valé:ŋá (they try them) < la- + e:ŋá.

ŋkò:vá (I shall row) < ka- + o:vá.

§ 56. *Coalescence*.—The following diagram explains the working of coalescence in Bantu languages :—



The three *basic* vowels in Lamba are a, i, and u,<sup>1</sup> and of these a stands by itself in being the only “low” vowel, the others being high-forward and high-back respectively. Under certain circumstances, when the vowel a is followed by a, i, or u, coalescence takes place, and *secondary* (not basic) vowels are the result.

$$a + a > a.$$

$$a + i > e \text{ (or } \epsilon \text{)}.$$

$$a + u > o \text{ (or } \text{ɔ} \text{)}.$$

The “a” which is the result of the coalescence of two basic a-vowels is not different in any phonetic respect from basic -a, but it has different potentialities. It is necessary, therefore, to classify as basic vowels a, i, and u; and to classify as secondary vowels a, e, and o. Since phonetically and acoustically the two a’s are alike, we do not distinguish

<sup>1</sup> See § 3.

them one from the other by any diacritic mark. For grammatical and reference purposes some mark may be of practical value, but from the point of view of phonetics, it would be incorrect.

Coalescence takes place under the following circumstances :—

(i) When a verb ending in **-a** is followed by a noun commencing in a vowel, coalescence takes place in normal quick speech :—

(a + a) **hɪɬa amaphɪ** > **hɪɬamaphɪ** (clap hands).

(a + ɪ) **návo:na imithɪ** > **návo:nemithɪ** (I saw trees).

(a + u) **návo:na utu:nɪ** > **návo:notu:nɪ** (I saw birds).

(ii) When the auxiliaries **-ka-** and **-la-** or the dependent mood concords ending in **-a** immediately precede vowel-verb stems :—

(a + ɪ) **tuképhika** (we shall cook).

**ɪkə:ɪɪɪka** (I shall enter).

**ese kunq** (let him come here).

(a + u) **mulo:ɪfwq** (you habitually hear).

**akə:pəq** (he will marry).

**ɪkə:ɪq** (I shall buy).

(iii) It is noteworthy that full coalescence does not take place with the conjunctive formative **na-** in Lamba, as it does in many other Bantu languages.<sup>1</sup> In Lamba **na-** is unchanged before words commencing in consonants, but becomes **ne-** or **nɛ-** before all words commencing in vowels, in which case those vowels are elided.

**tatq** (my father) > **natatq**.

**avantq** (people) > **névantq**.

**inamq** (animal) > **nénamq**.

**úkufika** (to arrive) > **né:kufika**.

§ 57. In Lamba coalescence of like vowels is of frequent occurrence, **a + a** becoming **a**, **ɪ + ɪ** becoming **ɪ**, and **u + u** becoming **u**; but it must be noticed that **e** never coalesces with **e**, or **o** with **o**.

(a + a) **vá:hicithɪɪ** (they made).

(ɪ + ɪ) **tukɪ:ɪɪɪɪ** (we have entered).

(u + u) **utu:nɪ** (little birds).

Notice : **ve:ɛɬq** (don't let them try).

**h'é:takə ɔnsɛ** (bring them all).

§ 58. The vowels **ɪ** and **u** before other vowels at times become consonantalized into the semi-vowels **j** and **w**, or take a semi-vowel between them :—

<sup>1</sup> For instance in Zulu, cf. Doke, *Phonetics of the Zulu Language*, p. 166.



- (1 + 1) imithi ɪpɪɪ or imithi ɪpɪɪ (many trees).  
 (1 + ɛ) imithi ɛɛkɔ (only trees).  
 (1 + u) ifintu ifju:mɪŋ (dry things).  
 (u + e) twɛ:ndɛnɪ (let us go).  
 (u + ɪ) wɪmɛ (stand up).  
 (u + ɔ) wɔntɛ (warm yourself).

§ 59. *Miscellaneous words and sentences.*—Showing word-division and the use of phonetic symbols.

- njé:njā mǎ:ǎndǎ — — (I shall enter the house).  
 nǎmwǎwǎ — — (it is you).  
 fǎwǎwǎ (both of us).  
 kǎnǎ imǎthǎ lǎnjǎ — — (here the trees are many).  
 wǎ:lǎminǎ — — (they stood up).  
 ǎfǎntǎ fǎjǎminǎ — — (the things are dry).  
 ékwǎhǎ wǎkǎmǎ — — (they are here now).  
 ékwǎ:hǎ mǎilǎ — — (they were here yesterday).  
 tǎwǎpǎhǎ — — (they are not present, they were not present).  
 ǎǎǎwǎwǎ (calico).  
 kǎ:jǎ — — (go !).  
 ǎkǎwǎǎǎwǎwǎ:ǎǎǎ (star).  
 wǎdǎ:hǎǎwǎǎwǎwǎ:lǎfǎfǎ pǎhǎkǎthǎ tǎtwǎwǎpǎhǎhǎ:mǎpǎhǎwǎ fǎ:wǎ — —  
 (they grumbled because we did not give them their  
 capsicums).  
 nǎ:wǎ:nǎtǎwǎ:nǎ tǎwǎ:nǎ tǎwǎ:nǎ — — (we saw five small birds).  
 ǎkǎtǎmǎ kǎmǎfǎmǎ ǎkǎkǎlǎ — kǎhǎhǎwǎpǎhǎ — — (the large axe  
 of the chief is lost).

### (h) Orthography

§ 60. Compared with the orthography used in my *Grammar of the  
Lamba Language*, I now offer the following suggestions for improvement  
in ordinary writing :—

- (i) The employment of the conjunctive method of writing as outlined in the previous section.
- (ii) No change in the symbols for the vowels, i.e. five symbols still to be used ; but it is essential that length marks should be employed.
- (iii) No change in the representation of the explosives except the use of **j** instead of **g** before **i**.
- (iv) The use of **ɲ** for the hitherto-used **ny**, and always as the homorganic nasal before **e**, **j**, and **ɕ**.

(v) The use of the symbols *v* and *ɸ* (alternatively retaining for the latter the present *s* before *i*, and *sy* before other vowels ; this, however, is less desirable).

(vi) The distinguishing of *l* from *ɾ*, and the use of the latter symbol (or *r* as a less desirable alternative).

(vii) The marking of tone in record, translational and scientific work.

## PART II

### EXTRA-NORMAL PHONETICS

§ 61. In this part of my report I do not attempt to treat in any way exhaustively, but merely intend to present some of the outstanding phonetic possibilities of onomatopœic, ejaculatory and impulsive speech in Lamba. In all Bantu languages the onomatopœia *does* come into regular grammatical speech, and the difficulty of differentiating this from the "normal grammatical phonetics" is greater in this language family than in almost any other. I have, however, decided to exclude from the first part any sounds or phenomena which come into the grammar only from the "radical descriptive" or the interjection. This part, then, is merely suggestive, as it but touches the fringe of a very large subject. The charts and tables presented are of "additional sounds" only, as the normal phonetics is, naturally, also employed.

#### (a) *Vowels.*

§ 62. *Vowels with abnormally prolonged length.*—Prolonged length is found in Lamba almost exclusively in onomatopœia. It is found *emotionally* in a few cases in the normal grammatical phonetics, as, for instance, in *kubjd::* (a great distance yonder). This length is indicated by the double colon ::, or treble if necessary, e.g. *kɛ::* (cry of guinea-fowl).

The most common occurrences of abnormally long vowels, in Lamba extra-normal phonetics, are of *ɛ::* and *ɐ::*.

*ɛ::* Tongue-position as for normal *ɛ*, but slightly lower than Cardinal No. 3.

*lɛ::* (of jumping right over).

*lwɛ::* (of forest opening out into a glade).

*wɛ::* (of light flashing).

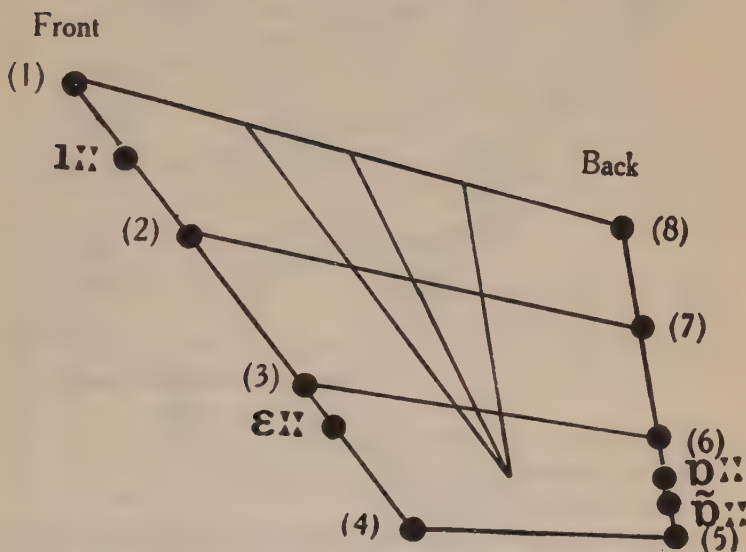
*cɛ::* (of redness).

**ɒ::** Tongue-position considerably lower than for Cardinal No. 6, giving acoustic effect much as of **ɔ:** in English *organ* (**ɔ:gən**), only the lips are more fully rounded in the *Lamba* sound.

**tp::** (of firmness).

**pʰp::** (of water foaming).

**sp::** (of seething).



**ũ::** Nasalized or naso-oral form of the previous, having necessarily a tongue-position slightly lower, not far from that of Cardinal No. 5. This is not so commonly found as the pure oral form.

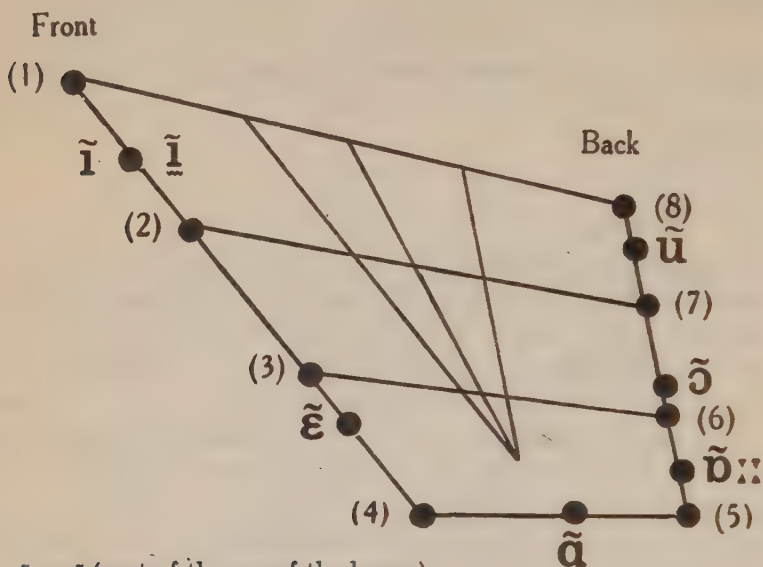
**nṽ::** (of deep digging).

**ɪ::** Tongue-position as for the normal No. 1 in *Lamba*, above, half-way between Cardinals Nos. 1 and 2. The only example of this, hitherto identified as used with prolonged length, is in the latter part of a rising diphthong **ũɪ::**, which I write **wɪ::**.

**twɪ::** (of anger).

§ 63. *Naso-oral Vowels*.—The lowering of the velum to open the passage to the nose in nasalization naturally lowers the tongue-position somewhat; thus the positions of **ĩ**, **ẽ**, **ũ** and **ṽ** are slightly lower than for the normal grammatical corresponding oral vowels. **ũ::** is slightly lower than **ɒ::** and has the prolonged length (cf. § 62). **ã** is slightly

more forward than oral **a** in Lamba. There is also a nasalized **i** with epiglottal friction, viz. **ĩ**.



**i** **ĩ** (part of the cry of the hyena).

**ẽ** **ndẽ**: (of breaking in pieces of a cup, etc.).

**pcẽ** (of a stone striking rock).

**ă** This is found as the final element in the rising diphthong **ũă**, which I write as **wă**; **ndwă**: (of heart pangs).

**ǃ** **ǃǃ**: (wah ! an exclamation of triumph).

**ũ** **mphũ** (of the snapping of a trap).

**ndũ ndũ** (of the eland's gait).

**ǃ::** (See § 62.)

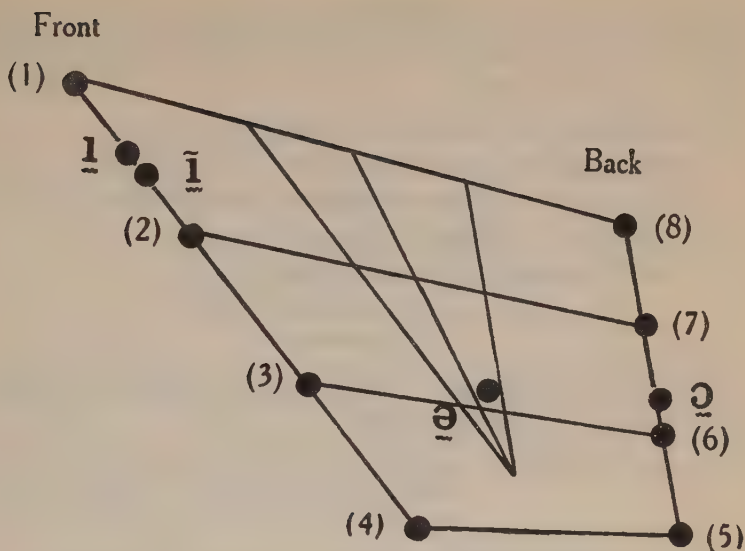
**ĩ** (For a description of the epiglottal friction, see the next paragraph.)

**fiĩ** (part of the cry of the mole).

§ 64. *Vowels with Epiglottal Friction.*—These vowels<sup>1</sup> are pronounced with considerable voiced friction in the throat, caused by a contraction and narrowing of the pharynx which make the epiglottis vibrate roughly. I indicate this friction by the diacritic **̥** beneath the vowels. The tongue-positions of **i** and **ǃ** are as for the normal grammatical vowels corresponding. The neutral vowel **ǃ** has the tongue-position as for English **ə** in **əbāt**.

<sup>1</sup> See Doke, *The Phonetics of the Zulu Language*, p. 33.





1̣ ɸ̣1̣:ɸ̣1̣ɸ̣1̣ (part of the cry of the ground-hornbill).

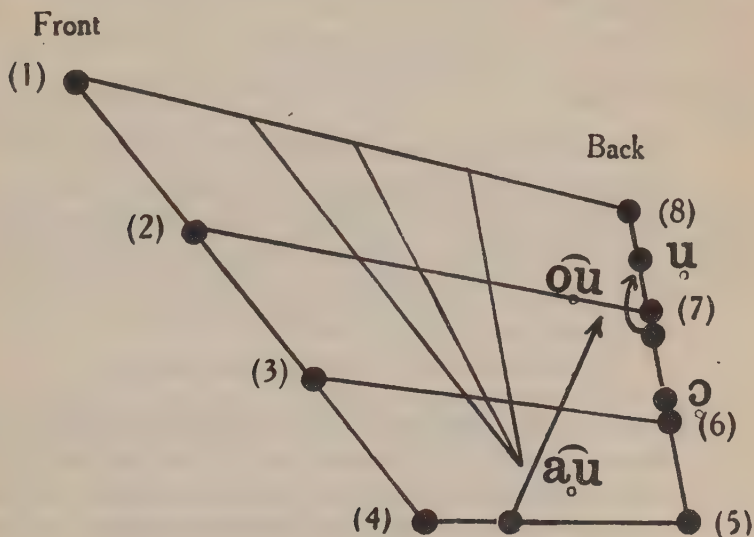
1̃ (See § 63.)

ɐ̃ wɐ̃: (the cry of the bushbuck).

ɐ̃ ɐ̃ (part of the cry of the leopard).

ɸ̣ɐ̃ (part of the cry of the hippopotamus).

§ 65. *Devocalized Pure Vowels and Diphthongs*.—In imitation of animal and bird cries, certain devocalized vowels and even diphthongs



are employed. Those marked above are representative of this type of abnormal phonetics, which no doubt has a much wider range than these few examples indicate.

u kxʔu (part of the cry of the monkey).

pruku pruku (gait of the duiker).

ə so:pɛɛ (part of the cry of the guinea-fowl).

au kxʔau (part of the cry of the monkey).

ou kxʔou (part of the cry of the monkey).

(b) *Consonants*

§ 66. *Chart containing certain Emitted Consonants found in Lamba Extra-normal Phonetics only.*

	Bilabial.	Alveolar.	Palatal.	Velar.	Glottal.
Explosive { Rad. . . . Eject. . . . Fully-Asp.	p			kh	ʔ
Fricative { Unv. . . . Voiced . . .			ç		h ɦ
Rolled : Voiced . . .		r			
Affricate : Eject. . .				kxʔ	

§ 67. *Radical Bilabial Explosive.*—The unvoiced explosive p, devoid of all aspiration, though not found in the normal grammatical phonetics of Lamba, occurs in the extra-normal phonetics in such compounds as pr and pɛ. Examples :

pruku (the gait of the duiker).

so:pɛɛ (part of the cry of the guinea-fowl).

§ 68. *Fully-aspirated Explosive.*—An example of this is found with velar tongue-position, kh closely resembling the Zulu aspirate. In the partly aspirated ph and th of Lamba, the aspiration is slight, as in the normal southern English pronunciation. The fully-aspirated explosive,

however, has a strong and unmistakable rush of air following the explosion. A good example of this is in the cry of the dove : **khū: khū: khukhukhukhú:**.

§ 69. *The Glottal Stop*, or glottal explosive, is found before a vowel and a syllabic nasal, in addition to its use in the formation of the ejective affricate, **kxʔ**. Examples :—

**ʔɔ:** (an exclamation of triumph).

**ʔm ʔm** (exclamation of incredulity).

**kxʔou** (part of the cry of the monkey).

§ 70. *Unvoiced Palatal Fricative*.—One case of **ç** has been noticed in conjunction with **p** and preceding the devocalization of the vowel. **pj** is a common combination in Lamba, and **pç** is formed exactly as **pj**, but without vibration of the vocal chords. To imitate the cry of the guinea-fowl **só:pçə** is used repeatedly.

§ 71. *Glottal Fricatives*.—The normal grammatical phonetics of Lamba is devoid of glottal consonants, but in the extra-normal phonetics **ɦ**, the voiced fricative, is quite commonly found.

**ɦɪ: ɦɪ ɦɪ** (the cry of the hornbill).

**ɦɪ ɦɪ ɦɪ** (the cry of the mole).

In certain cases the voiced fricative is preceded by the unvoiced fricative, **h** :—

**ɦə ɦə ɦə ɦɦú** (the night cry of the hippopotamus).

**ɦɦé:é** (used in imitating the cry of the female owl).

The unvoiced fricative is found alone in the following interjection :

**jé:hɛ** (used only by a man who has killed another).

§ 72. *Rolled Lingual Consonant*.—**r**, with tongue-tip against the alveolus, is found in conjunction with **p**. Example **prukú** (the gait of the duiker). In this case the **r** is formed with but a single flap of the tongue. It is radically different in formation from **h**.

§ 73. *Ejective Velar Affricate*.—This sound, which is the same as that used in Zulu<sup>1</sup> and **çhú:** Bushman,<sup>2</sup> is composed of the velar explosive (**k**) followed by the velar fricative (**x**), and the resulting

<sup>1</sup> See Doke, *The Phonetics of the Zulu Language*, p. 115.

<sup>2</sup> See *Bantu Studies*, Vol. II, No. 3, p. 143.

affricate is ejected forcibly through the compression due to simultaneous closure of the glottis. A good example of the use of this sound is in the imitation of the cry of the monkey :—

**kxʔou̯ kxʔa̯u̯ kxʔa̯u̯ kxʔou̯ kxʔukxʔu̯ kxʔukxʔu̯ — —**

§ 74. *Syllabic Nasals*.—As was seen in § 33, syllabic nasals have a very restricted use in normal grammatical phonetics in Lamba. In extra-normal phonetics, however, they are used much more freely.

*Bilabial*.—**m**:    **ʔm** **ʔm** (exclamation of dissent).

*Palatal*.—**ɲ**:    **ɲ̥**: **ɲ̥**: **ɲ̥**: **ɲ̥**: (the roar of the lion).

§ 75. *Unvoiced Lateral Click (Incomplete)*.—There is an incomplete click found in extra-normal phonetics in Lamba, a click closely akin to the “Cabby’s click”, as it is called, used for urging on a horse. The tongue-position is as for the lateral click in Zulu.<sup>1</sup> The front of the tongue is against the alveolus, the back raised to touch the velum, and the centre depressed to cause the space of rarified air. The side of the tongue against the upper side teeth is withdrawn, allowing the air to rush in with a smacking sound, not devoid of friction. In Lamba the velum is not released, as in Zulu, to allow of an accompanying vowel, and the click is thus incomplete.

**ɬ̥** (a click used to warn of the vicinity of game when hunting, or of the enemy when at war).

**kɬ̥ɔkɔ** **ɬ̥** (the cry of the *cirjan̥kəkəkɔ* bird).

### (c) *Tone and Stress*

§ 76. The tone used in extra-normal phonetics in Lamba shows a great resemblance to the Zulu range for ordinary speech. Time was totally insufficient for a careful analysis of this phenomenon, which might necessitate some system of marking such as that adopted for Zulu, a numeration. In the few examples collected, however, apart from the high-, mid-, and low-level tones employed in normal grammatical speech, the following gliding tones were identified :—

High-falling,	indicated by	<b>à</b> .
Low-falling,	„	„ <b>ɑ</b> .
High-rising,	„	„ <b>á</b> .
Low-rising,	„	„ <b>ɑ</b> .

<sup>1</sup> See Doke, *The Phonetics of the Zulu Language*, p. 130.



Examples :—

- dlà (exclamation of surprise).  
 jò: (exclamation of despair).  
 ʔɔ: (exclamation of triumph).  
 kɛ:: (part of the cry of the guinea-fowl).  
 pĩ (part of the cry of the hyena).  
 hfié:ɛ (part of the cry of the female ground-hornbill).  
 bwɪ (cry of the water-buck).

There are also level tones intermediate between high and mid, mid and low ; but it has not been possible to test these sufficiently.

§ 77. In extra-normal phonetics, stress too may appear in a way that seems irregular. Ante-penultimate stress (i.e. initial stress in words of three syllables) is found, for example :—

- tútutù tútutù (of hoeing in numbers).  
 fi:kupɪ (part of the call of the male owl).

(d) *Examples*

§ 78. *Animal Calls and Bird Cries.*

Hyena : pĩ pĩ pĩ pĩ — —

Leopard : ɛ̃ ɛ̃ ɛ̃ ɛ̃ — —

Lion : j̃: j̃: j̃: j̃: — —

Ground-hornbill : fĩ: fĩ: fĩ: fĩ: — —

Bushbuck : wɔ̃: — —

Dove : khu: khu: khukhukhukhu: — —

Waterbuck : bwɪ — —

Reedbuck : swɛ — —

Hippopotamus : fĩ fĩ fĩ hfĩ — —

Mole : fĩ fĩ fĩ — —

Monkey : kxʔoũ kxʔaũ kxʔaũ kxʔoũ kxʔukxʔũ kxʔukxʔũ — —

Jackal : bwɛ: — —

Cock : kòkòlɪlɪkòp — —

Cicada : pɛ pɛ pɛ pɛ pɛ — —

Crocodile : fwi fwi fwi fwi etc. (with decreasing amplitude and increasing speed).

Hen (startled) : **kwe kwe kwe kwe kwe** : — —

**cihjan̄kəkəkətə** bird : **kījəkə** ̣ — **kījəkə** ̣ — **kījəkə** ̣ — —

§ 79. *Word Imitations of Bird-calls.*

**ákaphɛɣi** bird :—

**úju phálámp̄h̄ap̄ɣám̄e:nso:kwe:nda tekumbónaph̄ə** — —

This is repeated three times, the first part of the sentence being slowly and deliberately pronounced, the latter part more quickly.

With stress-markings and numerical tone marking, as for Zulu,<sup>1</sup> this sentence will appear as follows :—

<sup>2 3</sup> <sup>3 3</sup> <sup>4 4-5</sup> <sup>5</sup> <sup>5</sup> <sup>5</sup> <sup>6</sup> <sup>6 7</sup> <sup>7 8</sup> <sup>9</sup>  
**úju phálámp̄h̄ap̄ɣám̄e:nso:kwe:nda tɛkumbónaph̄ə** — —

This jumbler-of-the-eyes travelling one-cannot-see-him.

Variant imitations of the same call are as follows :—

<sup>3 3</sup> <sup>3</sup> <sup>3 4</sup> <sup>4-5</sup> <sup>5</sup> <sup>5</sup> <sup>5</sup> <sup>6 6</sup> <sup>7</sup> <sup>7</sup> <sup>8 9</sup>  
**kójo: k̄ap̄ɣim̄iket̄b̄i n̄áɣikut̄o:lēn̄kuḡúlu** — —

I-have-just-picked-up-an-elephant-bull.

<sup>3</sup> <sup>3 3</sup> <sup>3 3</sup> <sup>3 4</sup> <sup>4-7 9</sup>  
**ká mb̄é̄t̄e mb̄é̄t̄e m̄isanḡá:n̄o** — —

I-became I-became a-mingling.

<sup>3</sup> <sup>3 3</sup> <sup>3 3</sup> <sup>3 3</sup> <sup>3</sup> <sup>4</sup> <sup>6 7</sup> <sup>4</sup> <sup>3</sup> <sup>2 2</sup> <sup>3</sup>  
**ndé t̄ó̄t̄o mw̄é̄t̄e mp̄h̄álek̄w̄é̄nk̄wa ɣ̄á̄ɣ̄i waph̄e:keca:nḡo** — —

I-do take- a-razor let-me-scrape-bark- my you-gave-a-maize-cob.  
up cloth

Each of these is repeated three times.

Guinea-fowl :

<sup>2</sup> <sup>2</sup> <sup>2</sup> <sup>5</sup> <sup>5 5 5 5</sup> <sup>5-8</sup> <sup>5</sup>  
**só:p̄c̄ə só:p̄c̄ə só:p̄c̄ə só:p̄c̄ə ké kéké̄t̄e ké:: — ké**  
<sup>5</sup> <sup>5</sup> <sup>5</sup> <sup>5-8</sup> <sup>5 5 5 5</sup> <sup>5 5 5</sup> <sup>5-8</sup>  
**ké ké ké ké:: — muso:k̄ó̄s̄i m̄iph̄á:nd̄i ké:: —**  
socks (on)-the-shins red.

The Wagtail :

**ukuh̄ja tuvi tuvi ukwina mp̄ja mp̄ja mp̄ja mp̄ja**

Eating in-brightness, being-fat a-clean-sweep-of-it

**kulungamukun̄k̄u** — —

means-eating-kunku-fish-as-relish.

The owl :

(male) <sup>6 8 8</sup> **fi:k̄ū** <sup>6 8 8</sup> **fi:k̄ū** <sup>8 9</sup> **nc̄ita** — —

'Tis-big-things, 'tis-big-things, I-do.

<sup>1</sup> See Doke, *The Phonetics of the Zulu Language*, p. 203.

- (female) <sup>3-1 3</sup> hñé:ɛ <sup>5 3 5</sup> mbafindo <sup>5 3 6</sup> mucita — —  
 Oh! what do-you-do?
- (male) <sup>6 8</sup> kápja <sup>6 6 6 8</sup> kuvulénje <sup>6 6 6 6 8</sup> kandè:tensámbo <sup>8 8 9</sup> ko:fwála — —  
 I-go to-Lenjeland I-bring-wire for-you-to-wear.
- (female) <sup>3-1 3</sup> hñé:ɛ <sup>3-1 3</sup> kwí:sa <sup>4 3 2 3 5 7</sup> mùfile:téhapho — —  
 Oh! where do-you-bring-it-to?

§ 80. *Various Radical Descriptives, including gaits of animals.*

- ŋka (of gun going off).  
 pruku pruku pruku (gait of duiker).  
 ndũ ndũ ndũ ndũ (gait of eland).  
 phakatu phakatu phakatu (gait of buffalo).  
 tūtutũ tūtutũ (of hoeing in numbers).  
 kalakasa kalakasa } (gait of tortoise).  
 kolokoso kolokoso }  
 tũvá tũvá tũvá tũvá (of pigs trotting).  
 lava lava lava (of guinea-fowl or little pigs running in a line).  
 hɛkɛ hɛkɛ hɛkɛ (of something falling from a height).  
 ma:pba ma:pba (of running quickly).  
 mfwepha mfwepha (of a large bird flying).  
 mo:twɔ mo:twɔ (of frog hopping).  
 mphiŋa mphiŋa (of people walking busily about).

§ 81. *Miscellaneous Interjections.*

- dlà (of dissatisfaction).  
 ɛ:hɛ (well I never!).  
 hjà:ŋ (you don't mean it!).  
 māmâɛ (wheu!).  
 úlũ (of incredulity).  
 ɛ:hɛ (of triumph).  
 wɔ: } (used in monkey-scaring).  
 wɔ: }  
 jò: (of distress).





## ABA-MBO GENEALOGICAL TABLES

By Rev. J. HENDERSON SOGA

### 1. DATES

1620. The date of the advent of the Aba-Mbo into Natal is given by various historians. Professor Eric A. Walker in his admirable *Historical Atlas of South Africa* page 6, of the prefatory notes, quotes this date. He says, "By 1620 the former (Aba-Mbo) reached Natal, where they broke up." If my memory serves me right, this date is also given by Theal in his *Beginnings of S.A. History*. Professor Walker, same page, gives the date of the crossing of the Zambezi by the Aba-Mbo in their southward progress as 1575. The date 1570 assigned as the time of the Aba-Mbo's departure from the lake country (Nyassa and Shirwa) is conjectural.

Between 1575 and 1620 the Aba-Mbo were for a generation or two living between the Sabi and Limpopo rivers, on the sea coast. Theal, *Beginnings of S.A. History*, gives, I believe, the date 1592, and indicates that the Aba-Mbo were then still between the Sabi and Limpopo.

In Walker's *Historical Atlas*, map. No. 2, evidently compiled from Portuguese sources, the Aba-Mbo, or according to Portuguese orthography "Mumbo", are located south of Lake Nyassa. From this point, which was probably their original home, they set out for the south.

If I have placed any dates opposite a chief's name on the tables, these must be accepted as only approximate.

### 2. METHODS OF SUCCESSION

The usual method of succession is through the heir acknowledged by the tribe. The heir may be, and usually is, the son of a chief's wife married well on in her husband's life. Hence, he is frequently very much younger than his half-brothers (sons by his father's other wives).

The first wife of a chief is seldom the mother of the heir. According to the Ama-Xosa she is termed appropriately enough, though not very delicately, "um-sul'udaka" (the dirt cleanser), the indication being that she is the wife of his youth, immediately after circumcision, when he *washed off the white clay* and entered into manhood. The dowry for this wife, as also for all minor wives, is given by the husband's personal friends.

The dowry, on the other hand, for the principal wife and mother of the heir, is supplied by the tribesmen.

Succession, however, of the royal line is sometimes overthrown through adventitious circumstances. The heir may be a man of no character, without courage, and perhaps worst of all is not open-handed; consequently he falls into disrepute, and if one of his brothers is his antithesis a large portion will give their adherence to him, and fighting naturally follows. The result often is that the half-brother, who may even be the son of a minor wife, is accepted as the tribe's principal chief.

It will be noticed in the Ama-Mpondomise table that the *royal* line of the Ama-Dosini is not now the *ruling* line. The latter is from Ciră, the son of a minor house.

The heir, however, has to be very bad indeed before he loses the respect and loyalty of the tribe, as a chief's person is considered sacred.

The same thing has occurred with the rule among the Ama-Mpondo. Gangata, a younger son of the chief Cabe, quarrelled with his elder brother Qiya, heir to Cabe, at a hunt, and eventually fought over the matter, the younger son triumphing. The ruling line in Pondoland is descended from Gangata, who usurped his brother's office. The royal line, now designated Ama-Tshomane from the name of a great-grandson of Qiya, has no real authority outside the bounds of their own house. No great State matters, nevertheless, are settled by the ruling line without first, as a matter of courtesy, consulting the chief of the Ama-Tshomane, his royal descent being still recognized.

### 3. LOCATION OF TRIBES

*Ama-Mpondomise*.—This branch of the Aba-Mbo occupies the country between the Tina river and the Tsitsa river, extending over the latter into the Tsolo district. This area is included within the two Magisterial divisions of Qumbu and Tsolo, C.P.

Mpondomise was the elder twin brother of Mpondo both being sons of Njanya, the son of Sibiside of the main Aba-Mbo stem. The history of this tribe is similar to that of the Ama-Mpondo until after 1686, when at some unknown date they moved out from the sea-coast and occupied their present position. Their more recent history will be found in Government and Historical records.

*Ama-Mpondo*.—These occupy north to south the coast belt from about the Mtamvuna (Umtamvuna) river to the Umtata river, and

east to west from the sea to the main road between Umtata and Kokstad, C.P.

The Ama-Mpondo are descended from Mpondo the son of Njanya (a younger son of Sibiside) of the Aba-Mbo stem. Mpondo was the younger twin brother of Mpondomise. Our earliest traditional information locates these two tribes (Ama-Mpondomise and Ama-Mpondo) at the base of the Drakensberg Mountains, somewhere about the sources of the Mzimvubu (St. John's river). Before 1686, both tribes moved down to the coast and occupied the country to the east of St. John's river.

The date 1686 is fixed from the narrative of survivors of the *Stavenisse*, wrecked on the Pondoland coast in that year. They mention the Ama-Mpondo and the Ama-Mpondomise, and others as tribes through which they passed in their attempt to reach the Cape Overland.

*Ama-Xesibe*.—The tribe of another of Njanya's sons, viz. Xesibe, termed by natives *imfusi*, that is, the first child born after twins. He was, therefore, younger than Mpondomise or Mpondo: some say by the same mother, others say by another wife of Njanya.

This tribe remained in Natal for over a century, after its brother tribes moved south and reached the coast. The Ama-Xesibe resided where the township of Greytown now stands, though before that they resided about the sources of the Mpanza (Bird's *Annals of Natal*, p. 135). In Dingana's time (Dingan's) they were dispersed, and sought refuge with their relatives, the Ama-Mpondo. The Ama-Xesibe are broken up into several sections. The right-hand house, called Jojo's Xesibes, occupy the country from Brooke's Nek, near Kokstad, to some miles south and west of the present village of Mount Ayliff, C.P.

The principal house, called Sidiki's Xesibes reside in the Mqanduli district, Transkei, C.P., but is less numerous than Jojo's branch.

Another small section, Sodladla's Xesibes occupy a portion of the Mount Frere district, Griqualand East, C.P.

*Imi-Tetwa*.—This tribe is in Natal. It is famous as the first to reorganize its military system under a European pattern, and the main instrument of Tshaka's conquests, though Tshaka himself was not one of the Imi-Tetwa by birth, but chief of the Ama-Zulu, who were tributary to the Imi-Tetwa. He finally usurped the chieftainship of both tribes.

Not having been long enough in Natal at any time to engage in research work, I am unable to speak at first hand about the Imi-



Tetwa. They are, however, acknowledged by natives to be of Aba-Mbo stock, and to be a minor house of Njanya's.

Bird's *Annals of Natal* and Bryant's introduction to his *Zulu-English Dictionary*—most useful books—should be consulted on all Natal tribes.

*Ama-Bomvu.*—This tribe, as can be seen from the Aba-Mbo table, is derived from or is an offshoot of the older tribe of Ama-Ngwana, through the chief Bomvu, the eighth in line of descent from Nomafu, first chief of the Ama-Ngwana, and half-brother of Njanya, second son of Sibiside. The Ama-Bomvu, in order to escape destruction at the hands of Tshaka, became tributary to him. This tribe is still resident in Natal. From it have issued two other tribes of considerable importance, the Ama-Bomvana and Ama-Swazi.

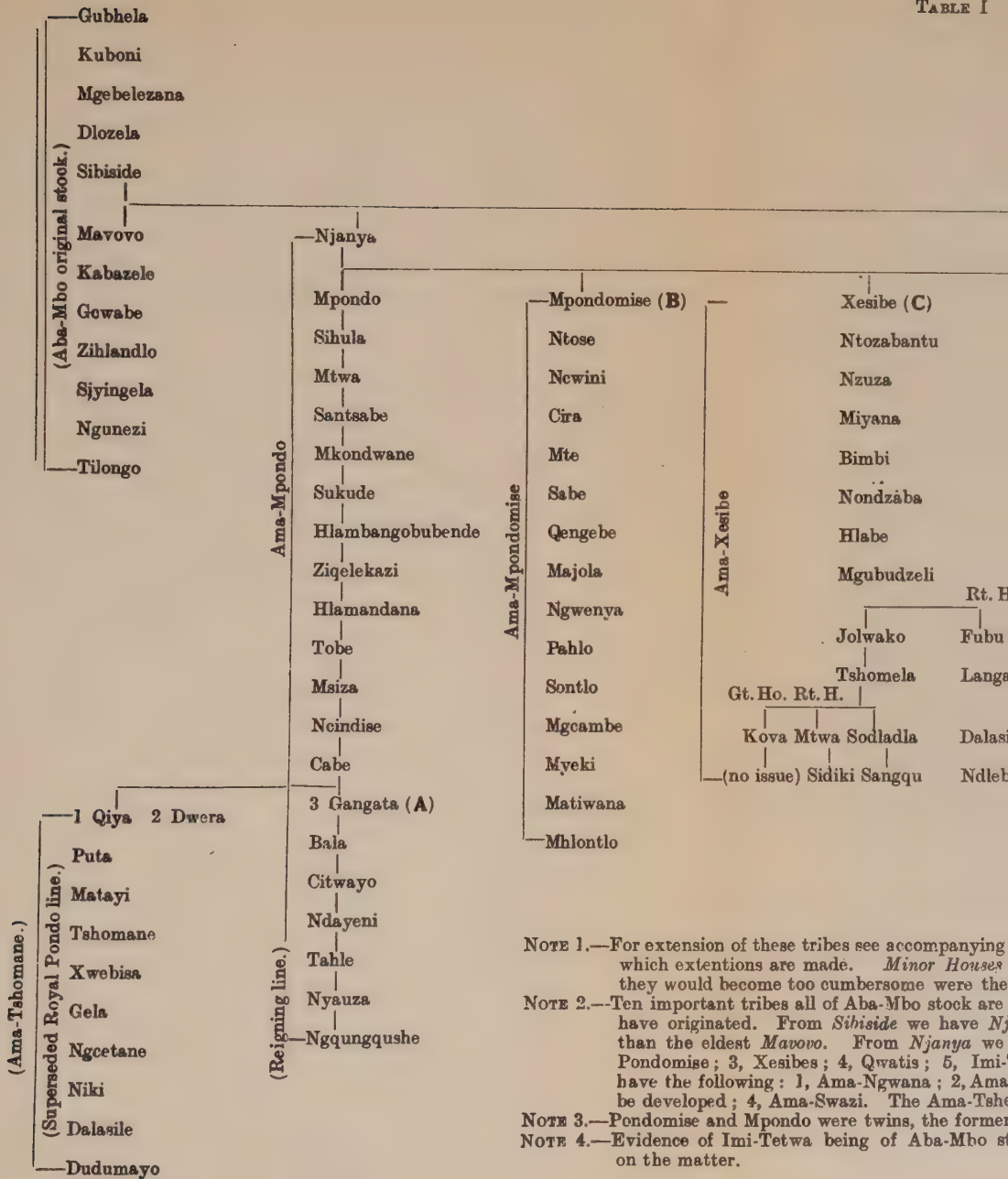
*Ama-Bomvana.*—This tribe is derived from the Ama-Bomvu. It is supposed to be the right-hand house of the Ama-Bomvu chief, Bomvu. This chief's principal son was Nyonemnyama, and the right-hand son and progenitor of the Ama-Bomvana was Njilo. Under the fourth chief Zwetsha, in direct line from Njilo, there issued another tribe of considerable importance, the Ama-Tshezi. Tshezi was Zwetsha's right-hand son, and, as so often happens under polygamy, his descendants are the ruling line of the Bomvanas. The principal house, named the Ama-Nkumba (The Snails), has been gradually pushed aside, and has occupied for many years a secondary position.

The Bomvana tribe left Natal antecedent to the convulsions of Tshaka's time, as the result of an attempt to enforce compliance on their part to carrying out the provisions of the "Isizi". This custom recognized that every individual of the tribe belonged, in a very personal way to the chief, so that when any one died the relatives had to appease the chief for his loss by a payment of cattle. When, therefore, Njilo's great wife died, the customary fee, "isizi" was claimed by Njilo from his grandson Dubandlela, among others, but he refused to comply. In consequence, war was threatened by Njilo, and Dubandlela fearing to be overwhelmed, elected to flee.

He came south with his family and adherents and sought sanctuary with the Ama-Mpondo, with whom the Bomvanas lived till about the beginning of the nineteenth century, when as a result of fighting with another section of the tribe, the Ama-Mpondo became involved and their great chief Ngqungqushe was killed. The Bomvanas, under Gambushe, an important though minor chief, then crossed the Umtata river and settled in Bomvanaland, at that time part of Xosa territory. Hintsa and his father Kawuta granted permission to the Bomvanas



TABLE I

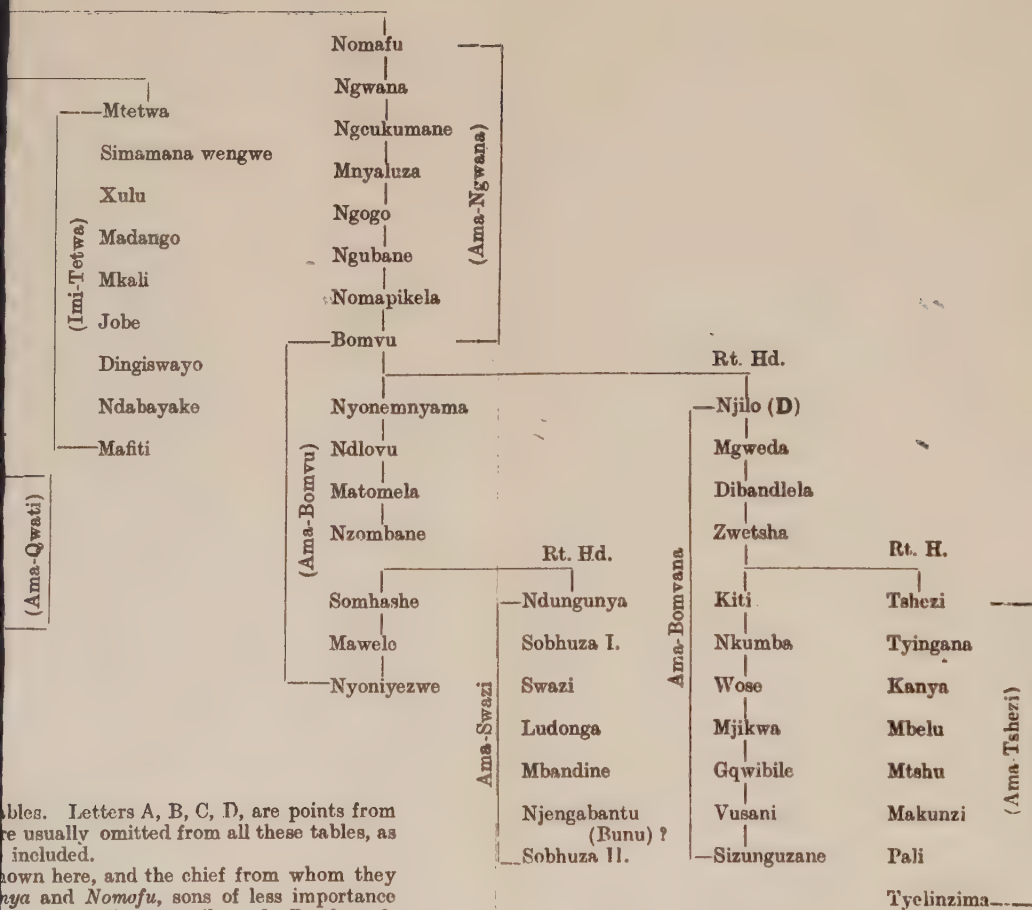


NOTE 1.—For extension of these tribes see accompanying which extensions are made. *Minor Houses* they would become too cumbersome were the

NOTE 2.—Ten important tribes all of Aba-Mbo stock are have originated. From *Sibiside* we have *Nj* than the eldest *Mavovo*. From *Njanya* we Pondomise; 3, Xesibes; 4, Qwatis; 5, Imi- have the following: 1, Ama-Ngwana; 2, Ama- be developed; 4, Ama-Swazi. The Ama-Tsho

NOTE 3.—Pondomise and Mpondo were twins, the former

NOTE 4.—Evidence of Imi-Tetwa being of Aba-Mbo st on the matter.



ables. Letters A, B, C, D, are points from  
re usually omitted from all these tables, as  
included.

own here, and the chief from whom they  
nya and Nomofu, sons of less importance  
ave the following tribes: 1, Pondos; 2,  
etwa; 6, Tshomanes. From Nomafu, we  
Bomvu; 3, Ama-Bomvana, and the last to  
are a section of the Bomvanas.

being the elder.

ck is not so clear as to preclude a doubt

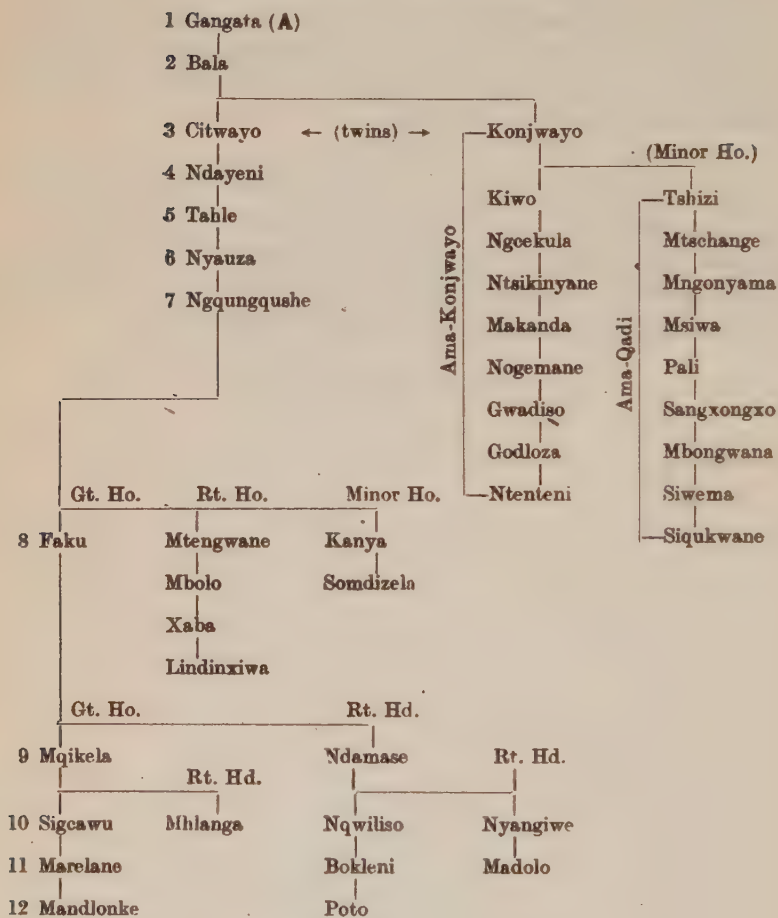
to occupy this territory, and the Bomvanas became tributary to the Gealekas (Xosas). This territory is in what is now the Magisterial Division of Elliotdale, Transkei, C.P.

*Ama-Swazi*.—This is, to my mind, the latest of the Aba-Mbo tribes, of any consequence, to be formed. It also is derived from the Ama-Bomvu. The fifth chief in line of descent from Bomvu was *Nzombane*, his great son was *Somhashe*, and his right-hand son was *Ndungunya*. *Ndungunya*'s son was *Sobūza I*, and *Sobūza*'s great son was *Swazi*, who gave his name to the tribe. It was in <sup>1</sup> 1843 that it first came into prominence, when it broke away from Dingana and moved north to its present position between the Drakensberg and Lebombo mountains, i.e. Swaziland.

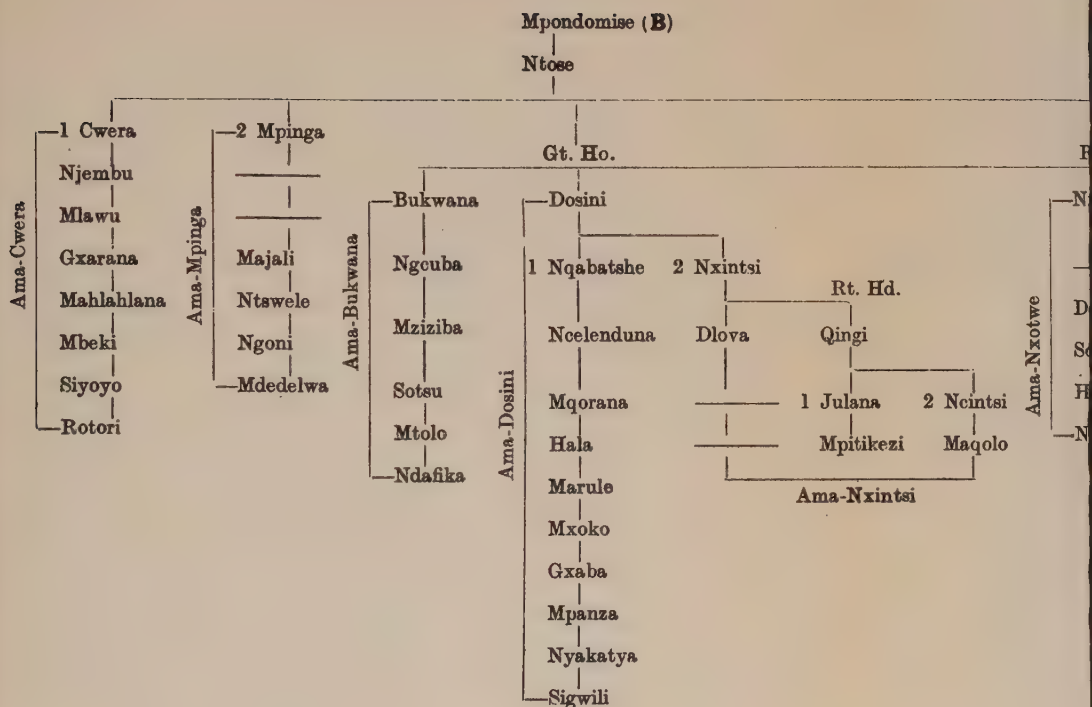
[NOTE.—The tables which Mr. Soga gives differ very considerably from those compiled by Mr. W. Hammond Tooke and published as an Appendix to the Report of the Cape Commission on Native Laws and Customs, 1883. The present tables are published in the belief that they are the more accurate record.—Editor, *Bantu Studies*.]

<sup>1</sup> See A. H. Keane, *Africa*, vol. ii, p. 329.

TABLE II.  
(REIGNING PONDO LINE) NUMBERED





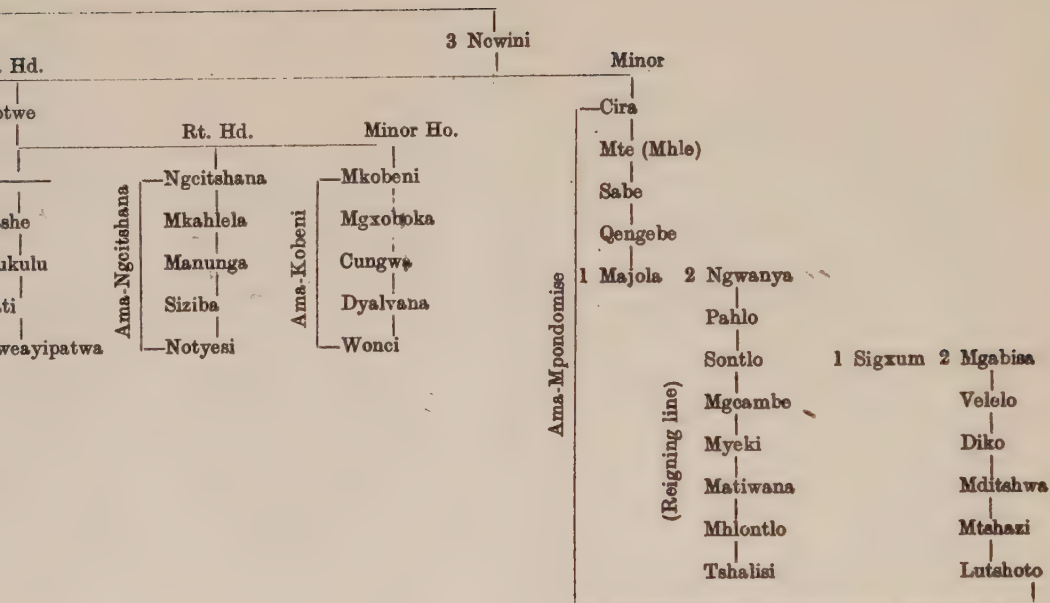


NOTE 1.—Ama-Cwera and Ama-Mpinga, though of Pandomise stock, occupy

NOTE 2.—Bukwana, being first-born son of Nawini, did not become the heir,

NOTE 3.—Cira, the son of a Bushman mother, was of a minor house, but contrary

### III.

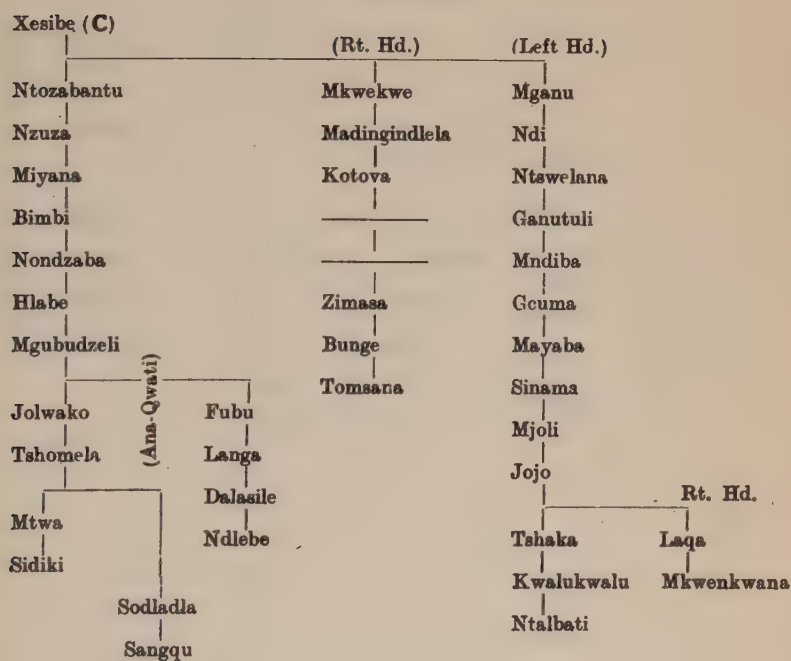


portions of Pondoland as distinct tribes, and independent of the Pandomise.  
 accordance with the usual custom.  
 to custom was recognized as principal son. His line is the ruling Pandomise line.

[To face p. 54.

TABLE IV.

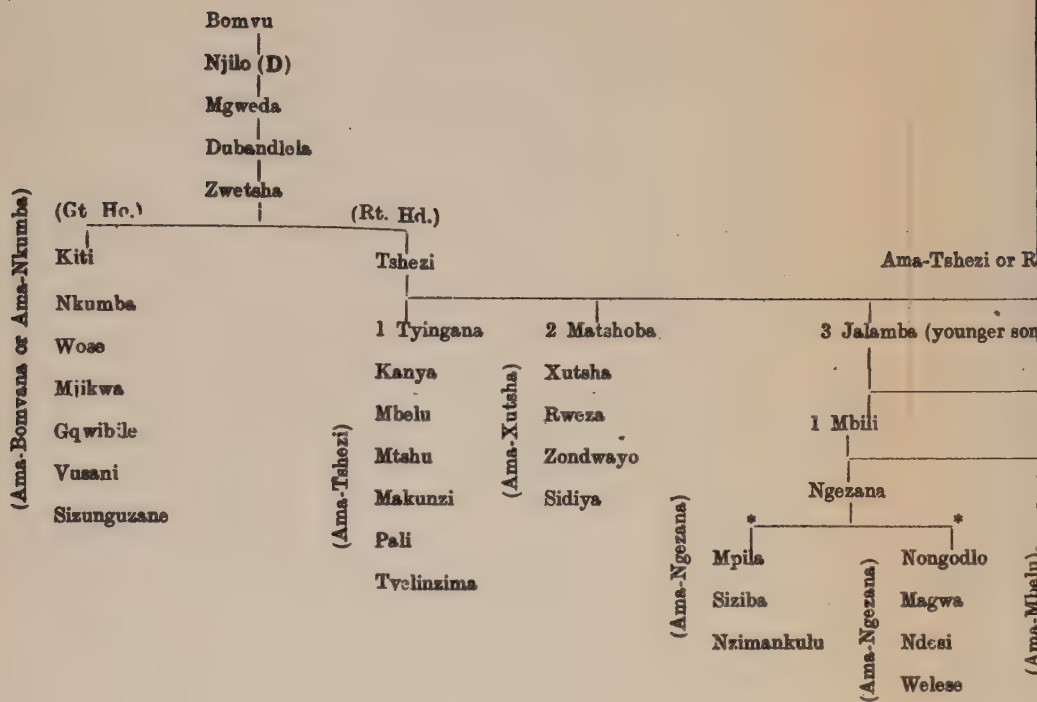
AMA-XESIBE





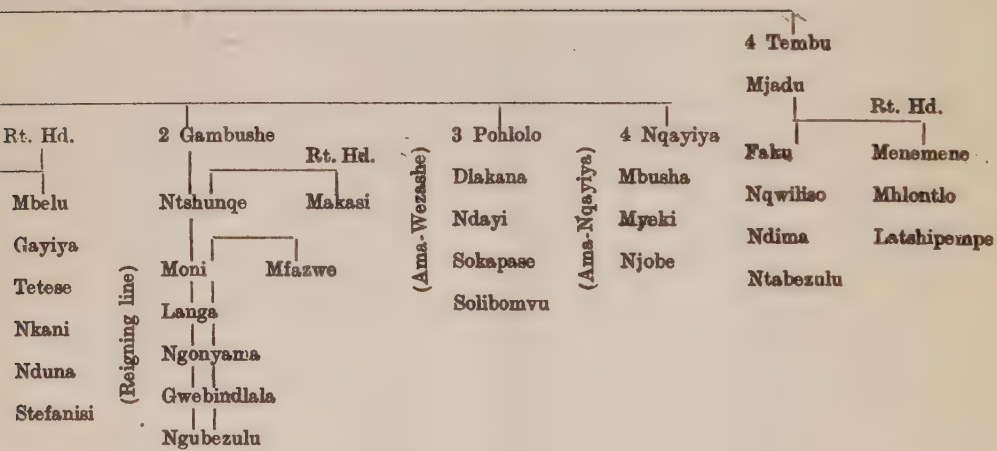


AMA-BOMVANA.



\* Both claim to be of the Great Ho  
NOTE.—Where numbers occur, as 1, 2, 3, 4, on this tab

Left-hand House of the Bomvanas



se. Point has never been settled.  
 , they indicate brothers, status of House not defined.

[To face p. 56.]

## SOME NOTES ON TJOPI ORIGINS

By HENRI PHILIPPE JUNOD

Missão Suissa, Manjacaze

### I. NAME

THE so-called "Tjopi" tribe (Batchopi) belongs to the Bantu family of people and is but a very small group amongst the Zulu, Suto, or Thonga tribes in South Africa. It is, however, a well-defined social entity in the present state of things. The name "Vatjopi" comes from the Zulu word *ku tjopa*, which means "to draw the bow", and does not seem to be a very old one. The Shangaan (or Thonga) clans which were under the domination of Zulu potentates during the last century were sent by their rulers to bring into submission all the people scattered in the great country comprised between the Limpopo River, the sea, and the actual southern part of the Inhambane district. They made there several incursions, and met with a different race with peculiar features, very brave and audacious, and whose weapon was the great bow, which is still to be found nowadays, and was more deadly than the Zulu assagais. Thence the appellation of "Vatjopi": those who draw the bow. This term seems to be well known since the time of "Manukosi" or "Sotfangani", the first great Ngoni conqueror of the Thonga clans established in the Nkomati and Limpopo valleys (1820-59). In the great fights of the period of Gungunyana (1889-95) the Vatjopi struggled as well as they could. They were still using their national weapon with poisoned arrows, and in their strong blockhouses, resisted a long time, before being compelled to flee by the great number of their assailants. As a matter of fact, they were never really defeated, but, outnumbered, were bound to withdraw further east and north.

Like the Indians of North America, the Tjopi tribe is under the mark of the bow. Like them it seems to be more and more disappearing before the advance of white civilization, and the encroachment of other Bantu tribes, which have their languages actually written, the Vatswa and the Vathonga (two groups of the same tribe).

The Tjopi people, being a very small social unit, not having their tongue written, will probably disappear in the more or less near future. It is the aim of the present paper, and of some others to be published

later, to save from total disappearance something of its originality and ethnological features, and especially something about its so disputable origins.

## II. GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION

Geographically, the Vatsopi are almost entirely located in the territory situated between the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth degrees latitude south, and the thirty-fourth and thirty-fifth degrees longitude east (Greenwich), that is to say, between the low Limpopo River on the south and west, the sea on the south and east, and the Inharrime River on the north. Following the wars and the different invasions of foreign elements into Tjopiland, numerous clans were broken up and scattered amongst the Thonga tribe. These Tjopi remnants are especially to be found in the territory of "Vilanculos" (a Portuguese way of writing the old Tjopi *shibongo* or family name Vilankulu), north of Inhambane, where the Tjopi-speaking people seem to be very numerous. But the writer was unable to get reliable information on that point. Some other elements of the ancient tribe fled to the south, and they are to be found near the Nkomati River, around the Manyisa administration, and in the territory of Mwamba. However important these "Vatsopi of the dispersion" might be, there is no doubt that the true "habitat" of the Tjopi tribe is within the bonds of the three Portuguese administrations of Chaichai (alias Vila Nova de Gaza), Manjacaze, and Zavala.

We must clearly explain, to begin with, that the so-called Tjopiland is ethnologically divided into two principal groups of inhabitants. These are not clans, but different groups of people, having some similarities, but widely distinct in language and even in some features of their respective customs: namely the "Valenge" and the "true Vatsopi".

### (a) *Valenge*

The Valenge (those who come from the north) occupy the territory situated on the Chaichai circumscription, and get as far as the administrative post of sidengela on the Manjacaze circumscription. They are a very peculiar people. They are so mixed up with Thonga or Shangaan-speaking people, so intricate is the respective position of the Tjopi and the Thonga elements amongst them, that there is sometimes no possibility at all to ascertain which is which. If we still explain that a very numerous proportion of Vandzau clans are scattered amongst



them, it will be clearly understood that these Valenge cannot be counted as true types of the TŢopi-speaking people, and that even their customs cannot be relied upon as specifically authentic of the TŢopi tribe. In this respect we must say that Bishop Smythe's *Xilenge Grammar* (S.P.C.K., 1902, London) has proved a little confusing. filenge is not "the language of the people commonly called Chopi", but a kind of combination of TŢopi and Thonga. The difference between filenge and TŢitŢopi will be easily demonstrated by one or two examples of the respective vocabulary of these two different ways of speaking.

In filenge the word "tooth, teeth" is expressed by the word *d'ino, mano* (class *d'i-ma* with the peculiar alveolar implosive *d'*). Every student aware of the Thonga language will see at once the close relationship of that word with the Thonga one *tinyo, matinyo*, or *meno*, whereas the TŢopi word for tooth is altogether different one, *d'ikwasa, makwasa*. Other examples: filenge: *mundu, vandu*, the man; ſithonga: *munhu vanhu*; TŢitŢopi: *mthu vanthu*, with a very sensible aspirated *h*; filenge: *nyakulori*, my friend; ſithonga: *nakulori*; TŢitŢopi: *mpɔalawangu* ( $\sigma = \hat{s}$  sibilant of the Thonga).

The examples might be multiplied, but it would push the distinction too far, because in many instances we find a great similarity between filenge and TŢitŢopi, and even in true TŢitŢopi we shall often trace the Thonga influence very far. However, there is no doubt in the writer's mind that filenge has become almost a mixture of ſithonga and TŢitŢopi. The reason of this interpenetration of the two languages which created the filenge and is also working in true TŢopiland is easily explained by the fact that a great number of the actual ValŢopi are of undoubted Thonga origin (cf. historical data). If we follow the linguistic distinction which I tried to show just now, we shall be able to recognize at once if we have to deal with a *Mlengi* or *MtŢopi* informant—and therefore it seems to be the best way of discrimination. I deal somewhat in detail with this subject, because of the confusion which Bishop Smythe's grammar is bound to bring into every Bantuist's ideas, not forgetting, however, that his work opened the way to students of the TŢopi people.

The Valenge are all under chiefs belonging to the "Langa" clan, except those in the territory of the "Regulo" <sup>1</sup> TŢihatu, "who is given the salutation *d'i tŢite Ng'umayo*, and seems Thonga by origin. Their actual Regulos (headchiefs): Nyafoko, Mahumani, Makupulani, and Nkandze, are all given the salutation *d'i tŢite, Langa!* the sun has

<sup>1</sup> For us, Regulo = headchief; chefe = headman.

got up, Langa ! These Langa people are probably of Zulu origin, as we shall see further on. There is perhaps a relation between their name and the term Valenge, but the writer was unable to get any good information on that particular point. Of course, there are many other clans amongst the Valenge, but the Langa clan is predominant amongst them.

If we give a rather dry list of the actual "Regulos" (headchiefs) and "chefes" (headman), we find the following names :—

1. *Regulo Tsiha4u*.—Chefes : Nyampfumu, Nyankhumbu, Khundule, Tfileva, Nyathembwe, Nyampheke, Mthethe, Tfiluvanyana.

2. *Regulo Nyafoko*.—Chefes : Makonyani, Bilanyani, Mukodwani, Tjithembe, Mafange.

3. *Regulo Mahumani*.—Chefes : Mafumisani, jagwala, Ntsambi, Mphimula, Khondzo, Mbowowo. In this territory we find an exceptional number of true Thonga elements.

4. *Regulo Makupulani*.—Chefes : Nyambende, Nyankhale, Nkhukhu, Mungoyi, Tjikokololo, Malembe, Nyankhokho, Tfilumbela.

5. *Regulo Nkandze* and his chefes on the border of the sea. He has to be differentiated from the Nkandze, which is to be found in true Tjopiland, but both are "Langa" people.

The country of the Valenge is well populated, and with the very interesting contributions of Miss E. Dora Earthy, of the Church of England Mission at Masiyeni, it is becoming better known. Of course one has to say that the ethnological facts available there are of great value, but must not be put under the heading of the true Tjopi tribe. It is quite obvious that the Thonga influence there is too great nowadays to allow the ethnological features of the Valenge customs to remain pure.

### B. The True Vatsopi

The true Vatsopi occupy the region comprised between the Thonga people of Matsinye<sup>1</sup>—the Valenge and the Vatswa as well as the Vataka on the northern border of the Inharrime River. The frontier between the Valenge and the Vatsopi is approximately a line drawn from Jidengela up to the Manjacaze administration. They are more numerous than the Valenge and have a distinct tribal unity as well as

<sup>1</sup> For those interested in Thonga studies it might be interesting to notice that this Matsinye people are "Vaka Tembe" by origin and are still given the salutation : "Jewani, Tembe !" They have come into Gazaland from the country of the Baronga in the remote past.

a language and customs "suigeneris". I shall try to give an outline of the grammar of their interesting tongue and an account of some of their peculiar customs in further papers.

The actual TŢopi Regulos belong to two big clans, one Thonga by origin, the other Bvesha. The Regulos Mungwambe, Mbandze, Zandzamela, Nyamtumbu, Mavila, and Mange are "Valoyi" people, that is to say, Thonga by origin (cf. historical data). Zavala, TŢisiku, Nyakutowo, TŢilundzu, TŢipwale, Mwani, and Mhindzu are "Thovele" people or Bvesha by origin (cf. historical data). Some remnants of the old TŢopi inhabitants are still to be found, but they are very rare. Here is the list of the Regulos and chiefs of the VatŢopi.

1. *Regulo Mbandze* and his chiefs.

2. *Regulo Mungwambe* and his chiefs.

3. *Regulo Madendere* and his chiefs.

4. *Regulo Nyamtumbu*.—Chefes: Magambu, Masangu, Marihani, Ndengu, Mtani.

5. *Regulo Zandzamela*.—Chefes: Mpharuke, Buse, Mbilani, Mawundze, Mavume, TŢimbutsoni, Maveluna.

6. *Regulo Mavila*.—Chefes: Matanato, Ntowo, Nyakuwonga, Gume.

7. *Regulo Mbanguze*.—Chefes: Makuluve, Mahandzule, Mange, Mbihe, Nyamwende.

These seven Regulos are *Valoyi* by origin.

8. *Regulo Nkandze* (who is a Langa).—Chefes: Guni, Mbangule, TŢibvondzo, Matoti, Mathimbi, Khwambe, Mungwambe, Muruku.

The following Regulos are "Thovele" people or Babvesha by origin:—

9. *Regulo Zavala* or Gumundu.—Chefes: Mayita, Matimela, Nyambene, d'unya, Mangwengwe, Matono, TŢisambula, and Goma.

10. *Regulos TŢisiku*.—Chefes: Khavele, d'akalu, Masava, Mawundze, Mbande, Nyoko, Makaringe, Nyabawu, MaŢya, Mangombe, TŢikohe, Mahema, Matandane, Khumbane.

11. *Regulo Mhindzu*.—Chefes: Kundze, Khukhwini, Bula, Mlayi, TŢipindu.

12. *Regulo Nyakutowo* and his chiefs.

13. *Regulo TŢilundzu*.—Chefes: Mungwambe, Thithi, d'evese, Masama, Guleni, Heleni, Nyankhundela, TŢitsuleta, Lendalenda, Sumbani.

14. *Regulo TŢipwale*.—Chefes: Nyamphalele, Nyamadzesho.

15. *Regulo Mwani*.—Chefes: Gungulu and Makovela.

On the northern border of the Inharrime River Tjifjopi is still spoken but the clans are mixed up with Vatoka or Vatonga elements as well as Vatswa groups of the Thonga tribe. It is obvious that the Tjopi tribe is very small (about 100,000–150,000 souls), but it is an exceedingly interesting one, being altogether different from the surrounding groups of Bantu peoples, even though the influence of these groups is easily recognizable in many ways. As the writer was unable to ascertain the situation further than the Inharrime River, we shall depend on other contributors to know accurately what is the respective situation of the different clans of Vatoka, Vatswa, and Tjifjopi, south of Inhambane.

### III. HISTORICAL DATA

It is somewhat a riddle every student of native history has to face. No historical records have, of course, been written, and the only source available is through the memory of old people, which civilization and drink are lessening more and more. The difficulty of ascertaining the truth in historical questions amongst primitive people is very great at the present day. White civilization is slowly but surely disintegrating the native tribe, its customs, its stability, its ethics, however low they might be—and alcoholic intoxication is spoiling the primitive's mental capacities more and more every day, as well as his health and heart. Therefore, I do not think that the facts which I shall try to describe here can be called scientific, because no scientific accuracy can be attained in the present state of things. However, old people are still to be found, and corroborating their answers in the different clans should give as accurate an approximation to historical facts as it is possible to attain.

#### (a) *The Old Tjopi Nucleus*

The student of Tjopi problems, when he endeavours to understand the past history of the tribe, is most puzzled at first by the fact that the old inhabitants of the country, the true Tjopi people, have almost completely disappeared. When investigating amongst old people, asking "Who were your parents? Where do you come from?" he almost invariably receives the answer: "I am a Thovele, a Bvesha by origin, or a Muloyi, a Thonga, or, again, a Langa or Zulu by origin." As it used to be an insult to be called *mtjopi*, and the people were ashamed of this appellation, the writer first thought that these answers were a way of denying their true origin. But after some years of careful



investigation he had to realize that, in fact, the old TŢopi nucleus of the tribe has almost completely disappeared. They had to flee before foreign invaders or to submit to them, but overcame them on language and in many points of customs and manners, probably because of the necessity of intermarriage.

The old TŢopi nucleus of the tribe seems to have been formed by two big clans: *Nkumbe* and *Vilankulu*. Investigation about these peoples is difficult. Almost invariably the answer is: "It is too old, we do not know." However, some data are available. *Nkumbe* seems to have come from the north, and to have been in relationship with people of the Inhambane and northern regions. *Vilankulu*, on the contrary, seems to have come from the west and south, and to have had some relationship with the Thonga tribe.

When Gwambe (see further on) and his people came into TŢopiland, they easily subdued the ancient inhabitants. These were known at Zavala by the name of *Mrori*, whose other name was *Marame*. *Mrori* belonged to the *Vilankulu* people, and occupied the country with his two brothers: *Nyandombwe* and *TŢimime*. They had their peculiar custom and language (something like the "UrtŢopi"). They were the masters of the "timbila" or "mihambi", the native pianos; this most interesting and precious musical instrument, which can be therefore counted amongst the true TŢopi characteristics. In another place I shall endeavour to give some considerations concerning the way in which it is made and played, as well as the customs connected with it. *Mrori* was also the master of the "tsibvenyula" or "mintŢalu", those loin-clothes cleverly made out of the bark of the "mphayi" or "utŢalu" tree of the "figus" family (a near brother to the *mphama* of the Baronga). I shall describe this interesting work later on. *Mrori* did know also these curious body markings or tattooings which have been described by Miss E. Dora Earchy in the *South African Journal of Science*. However, on that point my informants told me that in ancient times these tattooings were far less extensive than in modern times and that they were more and more enlarged, becoming more and more "fashionable". As to the circumcision rites and the marginal rites of women, which need a thorough and very careful description because of the people trying to mislead or induce the student in many ways, the people in TŢopiland and amongst the Valenge are very affirmative, these customs were unknown to *Vilankulu* and *Nkumbe*. They came with Gwambe and are a *Bvesha* feature or custom, imposed upon the old inhabitants by their *Bvesha* rulers.

In the *Nyamtumbu* (Thonga : *Nyantsumbu*) region, the Valoyi or Thonga invaders found *Thama* (or *Mthama*), who belonged to the Nkumbe people. With him were Thembe (a distinct Tjopi word meaning the "field"), Tuni, and Mbula. Thama fled before the invaders and settled near the Gwambe people at Zavala. As Mrori, Thama did not know the actual terror of the witchcraft ideas, knew the timbila and the tsibvenyula, and the tattoo marks or "titsanga" ("the reeds" as they are cut into the skin with sharpened reeds), or "tindova", a tattoo name which describes especially the extensive tattooing which women practise on their bellies. Thama as well as Mrori used to hunt the numerous elephants of his country. He killed them by digging enormous holes in the ground or "maphala" (class *di-ma*). In those holes he planted a big pole and the huge animal fell in and was impaled during the dark hours of the night. But Thama and Mrori were unable afterwards to cut the meat in a proper way, having no more implements at all, and using only for that purpose sharpened sticks. The Thonga invaders with their iron assagais, easily overcame Nkumbe and Volankulu.

In the Zandamela region the invaders found Buke, Bangu, Mlove, Nyamphule, Nyaphimbi, and Nobela. Not having been able to investigate carefully the origin of these clans, the writer will not make any statement on that point, except that Buke seems to have been a clan of the Vilankulu people, and that Nobela was in close relationship with the invaders, and seems to have been the one who brought them into the country.

In the Makupulani region, when Langa arrived, he found *Nyambongo*, who belonged also to the Vilankulu people.

On the whole, we see that the informants in many clans are of one accord in saying that their forefathers, when they got into the country found almost everywhere Vilankulu and Nkambe. These ancient inhabitants had their special customs, (Titsanga, Tsibvenyula, Timbila), and did not know some of the peculiar features of the actual Tjopi tribe (mbutsa or circumcision, tsidungulu or amulets, tsikwemlu or witches, etc.).

(b) *The three great Immigrations of Bvesha, Thonga (Shangaan), and Zulu Clans*

As I said above, the remnants of the old true Tjopi people are but few, and nowadays they have been absorbed by different elements. I have already emphasized the difficulty of obtaining reliable

information. But, however, after having seen a good many informants in several clans of the TŢopi-speaking people, the writer thinks it possible to state clearly that the actual TŢopi tribe is formed by three great groups of people who invaded the country and subdued the first occupants, Nkumbe and Vilankulu. They came into TŢopiland in the remote past, and seem to have arrived almost simultaneously.

### (1) The Bvesha Invaders

In the beginning of the eighteenth century there seems to have taken place an important migration of the peoples dwelling on the high plains of the Transvaal as well as in Swaziland and Zululand. These peoples, who seem to have been in the "hunting stage" of human society, were following the big game down to the plains of Portuguese East Africa, on the border of the Nkomati and the Limpopo Rivers. They were especially keen on elephants. White people were already established in the harbours at Delagoa Bay and Inhambane, and ivory was for native people the best way and the quickest of getting money, hoes, clothes for their lobolos, or any iron to melt their own weapons.

The first clans to arrive in TŢopiland belonged to the Bvesha people of Modzadzzi; they had left their kraals in the Spelonken, and were led by their chief, whose name was Gwambe.<sup>1</sup> My informant on the matter, Gumundu, who is a great-grandson of Gwambe, gave me the following genealogy of his forefathers from Gwambe:—

Gwambe  
|  
Tsuwawura  
|  
Zavala  
|  
Matone  
|  
Mwinyi  
|  
Gumundu Matone Zavala

<sup>1</sup> This Gwambe must have been remembered by the Bvesha people, who called his offsprings, when they returned to Spelonken in 1863, "Magwamba." A great number amongst them had the extensive tattooos which old TŢopi people used to practise on the nose and cheeks down to the chin, the reason for which they were called "Knobneusen" by the Dutch people.

Gumundu is a very old man. He saw Manukosi's death as a small child (1859). We see therefore that Gwambe must have come into the country a long time ago. If we take an average of thirty years for one generation we might infer from five generations that he came in the beginning of the eighteenth century. This Gwambe belonged to the clan of "Thovele", and still now his great-grandson is given the salutation *d'i tšite, Thovele!* (the sun has got up, Thovele), as well as the other one, *d'i tšite, Zavala!* As a matter of fact, we cannot rely absolutely on these genealogies, because of the fact that in Tjopiland chieftainship does not pass from father to son, but from brother to brother. It is only when all the brothers of the deceased chief have died that chieftainship returns to his son. However, Gumundu, who is blind, has very well kept the memories of the past, and he affirmed that the names he gave were his true forefathers, and did not make any mistake giving these names from Gwambe down to him or from him up to Gwambe.

Gwambe settled near the Inharrime River at Jikome (terminus of the small railway actually running from Chaichai into Gazaland). His son, Tsuvawura went ahead, but the country in which he settled was named after his son Zavala, who subdued the old inhabitants.

Gwambe came with Mhindzu and Tjilundzu who were his people. But further than Zavala they did not find anybody. The country at Tjilundzu and Tjipwale was still covered with great forests and full of big game.

As I said above, this Thovele people easily overcame Mrori because of the superiority of their iron weapons. Little by little they lost their own tongue and mixed themselves with the old Tjopi people, taking their wives amongst them. They quickly adopted the bow, and, knowing how to melt iron, they learned how to make up iron-headed arrows. They brought with them the circumcision rites of their Bvesha ancestors and imposed them upon Nkumbe and Vilankulu; so did they with the marginal rites of women, of which the ancient inhabitants had no idea. On the other hand, they accepted the body and face tattooing of the old Tjopi people, their timbila or native pianos, their useful loin-clothes—and the actual true Tjopi-speaking people are ethnologically, it seems, the result of the combination of these two elements. A further study on this matter will perhaps show in what way they became interpenetrated, especially if we get a good ethnological description of the Babvesha of Northern Transvaal, a



reliable description of their peculiar customs about circumcision and of the "rites de passage" imposed upon Babvesha women.

Neither Vilankulu nor Gwambe knew very much about witches—witchcraft and possessions. Gwambe, however, seems to have brought with him charms and amulets (*tsidungulu*), which Vilankulu did not know. But witchcraft became predominant in the last century, when the Vandzau people brought by the Vangoni potentates entered into the country, where they are very numerous, even now.

When Gumundu was asked: "Which tongue did Gwambe speak when he entered into the country?" He answered: "He spoke Tjitswa (or Tjithonga), but forgot it quickly and spoke Tjitsopi." He is probably mistaken, because Gwambe is likely to have spoken fibvesha.

What seems valuable in this information for those interested in native customs is the fact that circumcision rites do not seem to have been a real "Tjopi" custom of old, but have been imported and imposed upon the people by the Bvesha invaders. This fact is confirmed by the Thonga invaders (cf. further on), who affirm that they did not know it or find it, but that it came from Zavala to the east and south, and was quickly adopted by them—as the marginal rites were accepted by their wives. It is, then, interesting to notice that the rites connected to circumcision and the circumcision itself were not present amongst old Tjopi people as well as amongst old Thonga people. They were imposed upon them or accepted by them in virtue of special circumstances or environment. It might, therefore, be that these customs can be traced more and more to "one" source. As to the linguistic features of the actual Tjopi tongue, it might be also that a relation exists between the arrival of Gwambe's people and the frequent use of the alveolar implosive *ɖ* (cf. *ɖitiko*, class *ɖi-ma*), a sound which is closely akin to the Sesuto *l* or to the fipedi *ɖ*.

## (2) The Thonga Invaders

At the time in which the Bvesha invaders appeared into the country, or just some years after, a certain number of Thonga clans—belonging to the "Valoyi" group of the tribe, began also to leave their kraals near the Libombo mountains, and after having crossed the big plains of the Limpopo, got into Tjopiland. They say they came, like Gwambe hunting elephants. It seems that very long ago they had been preceded by Nobela and his people, who seem to have been dwelling near the Marangwe Lake from remote times.

These Valöyi people, led by *Makunyule* and *Mbandze*, were apparently closely akin to Nobela and they knew something about the country to which they were going. Makunyule stopped in the Matsinye region, and being tired he settled there near the plain of Makopa. He is now but a very small chief near to Makupulani's country. His brothers went ahead, and began to settle near the Marangwe Lake. The country was still wild, but, however, they found some of Vilankulu's people there: namely Buke, *Mbilani*, *Mlove*, Bangu, etc. The Thonga hunters began by *khonza* (a Zulu word meaning "acknowledge as a suzerain") these ancient inhabitants. But they quickly noticed that they had no iron weapons, and that their own assagays were more deadly than Vilankulu's wooden arrows. After some time they easily subdued them, made them their slaves, but took their wives amongst them and lost little by little their tongue and many of their Thonga characteristics.

*Mbandze* stopped just after Makunyule, and settled on the south and west of the Marangwe Lake. He begot *Mavila*, who was established as a chief further on, near the Zavala region and Gwambe's people.

*Zandzamele* settled also, and occupied the country which lies east of the Marangwe Lake. His son *Mbanguze* or *Mange* found his share of the country in the direction of the Inharrime River and Jikome.

*Nyamtumbu*, or Nyantsumbu, settled near the sea on the hills which border the magnificent "Nyambavale" Lagoon. He found with Thama some Thonga elements which had preceded him there: the *Mtani* people. These had left their kraals amongst the Va Bila, near the Phati Lake, in the Vulombe region. They came, it seems, with the *Mthethe* people, actually established in the Tsihaŋu region. Amongst this *Mtani* people, my informant, Gavasi Mtani, gave the following genealogy of his forefathers:—

*Mtani*, who was found by Nyamtumbu.  
 |  
*Mambani*  
 |  
*Maku!ani*  
 |  
*Matsinye*  
 |  
*dikhupe*  
 |  
*Matekani*  
 |  
 Gavasi Mtani

And the very old Regulo TŢimangani gave me the following of his:—

*Mawayi* Nyantsumbu, who came into  
| the country and found *Mtani*.  
Sikhonela

|  
Masindze wa Nyatsengwe

|  
Masindze

|  
TŢimangani,

who is a very old man. He was about six years of age at Manukasi's death.

To give an example of the different clans scattered now in what is considered as true TŢopiland, let us examine all the people of this Nyantsumbu region and their origins. All the following statements were made by TŢimangani Nyantsumbu himself, and these are his subjects: The "Va ka TŢisaki" came from the Bileni region (Limpopo River), and are of Thonga origin; the "Va ka Khawu" came from the Manyisa region, and belonged also to the Thonga tribe; the "Va ka Makhovo", Valoyi thence Thonga origin, came with Mbandze; the "Va ka Manyendze", same origin; the "Va ka MaŢeŢe" are one with the Thovele people, thence Babvesha by origin; the "Va ka Masangu", also Thonga in origin.

No Vilankulu or Nkumbe people remained, but they were absorbed by the invaders or fled before them.

From these examples one is able to understand at once how difficult it is to get in connexion with true TŢopi elements. They disappeared, but gave to the actual tribe its tongue and numerous outstanding features of its actual customs.

### (3) The Zulu Invaders

They are the "Langa" people who led to submission, the ancient inhabitants of the Valenge region. It seems that they came from Zululand a little after the Thonga invaders, and it is said they were also hunting elephants. My informant there, "George Makupulani," who is a clever man and the actual Regulo of the Makapulani country, gave me the following genealogy:—

Zwithi, who lived in Zululand.

|  
Siva, *ibid.*

*Langa*, who came into Tſopiland.

|  
Ngunze

|  
Mpfhotho

|  
Tlandlala

|  
Makupulani

### George Makupulani

Some people deny that these Langa people came from Zululand, and, of course, nobody could affirm it is a scientific fact. But, however, there seems to be a truth in the assertion of Makupulani, because they came into the country knowing the circumcision and this might be the proof that they had no relations with the Valoyi invaders nor with the old inhabitants who did not know this custom. As I said above, Nyafoko, Nkandze, Makupulani, Mahumani, and Nkandze II in true Tſopiland are “*Va ka Langa*”.

On these Zulu invaders the writer hopes to be able to furnish more information later on.

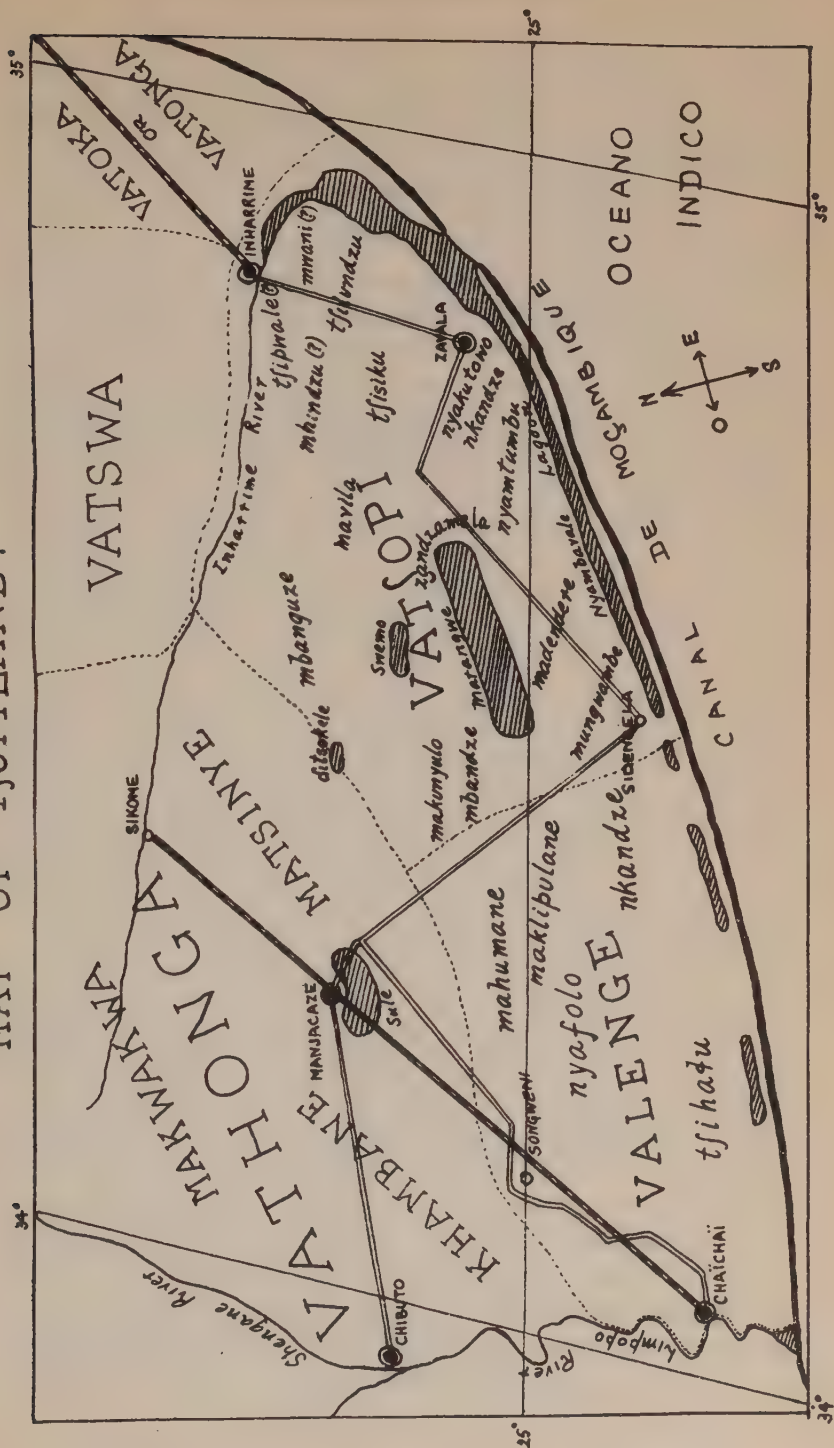
In conclusion I might say that having thus given the historical data which are still available amongst Tſopi-speaking people, as well as their geographical distribution, I hope to be able to give some more information about their tongue and customs.

The ethnology of Gazaland and Tſopiland is still to be studied. It is a most interesting country resembling a cross-road of peoples. The student meets there Shangaan or Thonga people, some Valenge, many Vatsopi, some Vatswa (in fact, an eccentric group of the Thonga tribe), some Vatonga or Vataka of Inhambane, and numerous Vandzau. As to the proper situation of each of these elements, nothing clear has been written up to the present day.

These few notes of an inexperienced writer do not pretend to cope with such a considerable subject. But they will perhaps contribute to throw some light on this most interesting ethnological riddle, and help in the future the Tſopi people to remember something of its past, when the progress of white civilization and the threatening encroachment of the surrounding tribes shall have swept away all memories of the old people.



MAP OF TSOPI LAND.







## *SUTO (BASUTO) MEDICINES*

By J. M. WATT, M.B., Ch.B. (Edin.) and MARIE G. BRANDWIJK,  
Phil. Doct<sup>a</sup>. (Utrecht), Apotheker (Utrecht), Department of  
Pharmacology, University of the Witwatersrand.

### PART I

FOR some time the authors have been collecting Native medicines. The following is the first part of a preliminary record of one group, viz. Suto. We have here recorded all the available information regarding the plants. In many cases, nothing is known about the chemical composition and pharmacological action. On the other hand, valuable records of the composition and action of some of the plants have been found. The literature has been carefully sifted, and we are of the opinion that very little of importance can have escaped our search.

The records which follow aim at giving, in addition to our own data, Native names and uses which have been recorded from time to time by various writers. We have taken particular pains to find every possible reference to chemical composition and pharmacological action. Unfortunately, comparatively few of the South African medicinal and poisonous plants have been subjected to precise analysis. Such analyses as exist are extremely valuable. In the case of some of the plants, we have found important information regarding closely allied species. Where we think that it may throw some light on the use of the plant, we have inserted notes on such.

We are much indebted to the public for the response with which our appeal has met. A very large amount of material has been received, so large indeed as to keep us occupied for some years in making preliminary collations. For the material which forms the basis of this paper, we are particularly indebted to Mr. M. H. Brown, Superintendent of the Native Recruiting Corporation, Maseru, Rev. Father F. Laydevant, Emmaus Mission, Thabaneng, and Dr. C. H. de la Harpe, of the Basutoland Medical Service, Teyateyaneng. These gentlemen have rendered valuable assistance in obtaining suitable specimens of the plants. The plant specimens have in every case been determined by the staff of the National Herbarium, Division of Botany, Pretoria. They have been lodged permanently in the National Herbarium under the numbers given. There can thus

be no doubt as to the identity of the plants and the originals are available for inspection at any time. We cannot convey the real depth of our sense of gratitude to the Division of Botany for the valuable and unstinting assistance which they have given us.

The records which we publish here must be regarded as preliminary records of what is at present known regarding these Suto medicines. We hope that its publication may widen the interest of readers in the subject and stimulate them to send us reports on and specimens of any Native medicinal or poisonous plants which may come to their attention.

*RUMEX* sp. (near *R. ecklonianus* Meisn.)

Family: POLYGONACEÆ

Watt and Brandwijk, No. 136

#### *Common Names*

*English*: Dock (smaller) (Marloth<sup>1</sup>). *Afrikaans*: ? Tongblaar. *Suto*: Khamane. *Xosa*: i-Dolo lenkonyana (Smith<sup>2</sup>) = calf's knee. *Zulu*: iDololenkonyane (Bryant<sup>3</sup>). *Native*: Idolo lenkonyana (Hewat).<sup>4</sup>

#### *Growth and Distribution*

*Ex Teyateyaneng*: a shrub growing in fertile soil on hills. Phillips<sup>5</sup> states that it grows in damp and shady spots, 5 to 22 inches high: flowers green—summer. Found also in South-West Africa, Namaqualand Minor, The Cape-Riversdale, Uitenhage, Albany, Graaff Reinet, Colesburg, Tembuland, East Griqualand, Natal, Griqualand West, and the Transvaal.

#### *Native Uses*

*Suto*.—A decoction of the roots is used in unlimited quantity in the treatment of sterility. For this purpose it is often mixed with other plants.\* It produces no symptoms and is evidently not poisonous. The treatment is generally regarded as very satisfactory. Phillips<sup>5</sup> mentions that a hot decoction of the plant is used for washing wounds and bruises.

*Xosa*.—According to Smith,<sup>2</sup> the Xosas use the roots in the treatment of tape-worm infection, either by drinking milk in which they have been boiled or by chewing them and swallowing the saliva.

*Zulu*.—Bryant<sup>3</sup> mentions that the Zulus also use the roots for tape-worm infection, apparently by pounding up a handful and drinking them in cold water. Hewat<sup>4</sup> records the milk method

quoted above. *Rumex nepalensis* <sup>6</sup> is used by Europeans in the treatment of Schistosomiasis and Wicht <sup>7</sup> records that the seeds of several species of *Rumex* are used as an antidysenteric remedy.

### *Chemical Composition and Pharmacological Action*

The chemistry of the plant has been investigated by Tutin and Clewer, <sup>8</sup> who isolated a small amount of a volatile oil, ceryl alcohol, a phytosterol, chrysophanic acid, emodin, and other crystalline substances. No glucoside could be found. The pharmacodynamics has not yet been investigated.

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- <sup>3</sup> A. T. Bryant, *Ann. Natal Museum*, 1909, ii, 1, 22.
- <sup>4</sup> M. L. Hewat, *Bantu Folk Lore*, 82, 83.
- <sup>5</sup> E. P. Phillips, *Ann. S.A. Museum*, 1917, xvi, 1, 252.
- <sup>6</sup> C. Jackson, Private Communication.
- <sup>7</sup> W. F. Wicht, *S.A. Med. Rec.*, 1918, xvi, 309.
- <sup>8</sup> F. Tutin and H. W. B. Clewer, *Proc. Chem. Soc.*, 1909, 302.

\* *Oldenlandia amatymbica* Hochst.  
*Scabiosa columbaria* Linn.  
*Gerbera* sp. (nearest *G. burmannii* Cass.).  
*Berkheya setifera* DC.  
*Hieracium polydon* Fries.  
*Salvia* sp.  
*Ajuga ophrydis* Burch.  
*Solanum* sp.  
*Rumex* sp. (near *R. ecklonianus* Meisn.).

### *HETEROMORPHA ARBORESCENS* Cham. and Sch.

#### Family: UMBELLIFERÆ

Watt and Brandwijk, Nos. 137 and 1573. South African National Herbarium, Nos. 6135 (137), 6002 (1573).

#### *Common Names*

*Suto*: Monkhoane, Monkhvane (Phillips <sup>1</sup>), 'Maka-tlala (Phillips <sup>1</sup>) = he who increases the famine. *Zulu*: umBangandlala (Bryant <sup>2</sup>). *Xosa*: um-Bangandlela (Smith <sup>3</sup>). *Native*: Um-Bangandlela (Hewat <sup>4</sup>).

#### *Growth and Distribution*

Ex Teyateyaneng. A bush growing on hillsides, on cliffs or in cracks in the rock. Also ex Thabaneng. Phillips <sup>1</sup> records it as growing in ravines and dongas and on mountain slopes. It is a tree

with yellowish flowers. Not common. Found also at Uitenhage, Albany, Port Elizabeth, Beaufort West, Komgha, Tembuland, Natal, Zululand, and Swaziland.

### *Native Uses*

*Suto*.—The leaves of this plant are mixed with those of *Cussonia paniculata* and of *Buddleia* sp., and boiled in water for 15 minutes. This decoction is given in nervous diseases, e.g. beginning of insanity, epilepsy, and hysteria more particularly. From Thabaneng we are informed that the smoke from this tree is supposed to be useful in dispelling headache. Phillips<sup>1</sup> records several uses. A preparation of the leaves is given to children suffering from intestinal worms, which cause fainting: "The tree is planted in every 'lekhotla' in Basutoland which is an open space near the principal hut of the village chief, where the men congregate to do whatever work they have on hand: it is also the court of justice, and the place where strangers and travellers go to ask for hospitality." The tree is supposed to have great power in retaining his people near their chief.

*Zulu*.—The Zulus crush the leaves and stems and soak them in warm water, which is used as an enema in "stomach complaints". Bryant<sup>2</sup> states that a decoction made from this plant is administered by the Zulu "doctors" night and morning in cases of scrofula.

*Xosa*.—The Xosas strip off the outer layers of the decorticated root, dry and powder and make a decoction by boiling this powder in water for some minutes. A tablespoonful is taken three times a day in the treatment of "shortness of breath and cough", when the medicine is often mixed with other substances. The decoction alone is given in cases of dysentery, in which it is said to produce a rapid cure. Smith<sup>3</sup> records various uses of this plant by the Xosas. A tincture or infusion of the inner bark and of the bark of the roots is used in colic. He states that the plant is also used as a "blood purifier" in scrofula, in which a decoction, made by lightly boiling the inner bark and the bark of the roots in water, is administered three times a day. A similar decoction is used to expel thread worms from horses.

An infusion is used internally and a paste externally by natives in the treatment of scrofula (Hewat<sup>4</sup>).

### *Chemical Composition and Pharmacological Action*

No work has been recorded on the chemistry and pharmacodynamics of this plant.



## REFERENCES

- <sup>1</sup> E. P. Phillips, *Ann. S.A. Museum*, 1917, xvi, 1, 106.  
<sup>2</sup> A. T. Bryant, *Ann. Natal Museum*, 1909, ii, 1, 18.  
<sup>3</sup> A. Smith, *A Contribution to South African Materia Medica*, 3rd ed., 1895, 71, 86, 87, 168.  
<sup>4</sup> M. L. Hewat, *Bantu Folk Lore*, 61.

*CUSSONIA PANICULATA* E. and Z.

Family : ARALIACEÆ

Watt and Brandwijk, No. 138. South African National Herbarium,  
No. 6125.

*Common Names*

*Suto* : Motsetse, Motsetse (Phillips<sup>1</sup>) = the bony core of a horn.

*Growth and Distribution*

Ex Teyateyaneng. A tree found chiefly on mountains usually at the crown of hills and krantzes. Phillips<sup>1</sup> states that it is a tree found in ravines and on mountain slopes. Flowers are yellowish—summer. Grows also at Somerset East and Beaufort West.

*Native Uses*

*Suto*.—Decoction made from the leaves and those of *Heteromorpha arborescens* Cham. and Sch. and *Buddleia* sp. is administered in various nervous diseases, e.g. beginning of insanity, epilepsy, and hysteria. A Suto Native "Doctor" told our correspondent that the treatment proves efficacious in cases where orthodox medicine has failed. Phillips<sup>1</sup> records that the Sutos use a preparation of the plant as an enema for the treatment of cases supposed to be infected with beetles and other "insects" by witchcraft. Mixed with *Rhus zeyheri*, *Rhus divericata*, and *Scabiosa columbaria*, it is given in cases of colic.

*Chemical Composition and Pharmacological Action*

The plant has not yet been subjected to precise investigation in any way.

## REFERENCE

- <sup>1</sup> E. P. Phillips, *Ann. S.A. Museum*, 1917, xvi, 1, 109.

*SCABIOSA COLUMBARIA* Linn.

Family : DIPSACEÆ

Watt and Brandwijk, Nos. 140, 720, 1605. South African National Herbarium, Nos. 6137 (140), 6123 (720), 6008 (1605).

*Common Names*

*English* : Wild Scabious, pin-cushion, rice flower (Marloth<sup>1</sup>).  
*Afrikaans* : Bitter Bossie. *Suto* : Selomi, Mohahloto, Selomi

(Phillips<sup>2</sup>) = colic pains, Tlhaku ea pitsi (Phillips<sup>2</sup>) = the leg of the horse. *Xosa*: i-Yeza lamehlo (Smith<sup>3</sup>). *Native*: Iyeza bamehlo (Hewat<sup>4</sup>).

### *Growth and Distribution*

Ex Teyateyaneng. Grows on hills in fertile soil. Ex Maseru. On Hills and rocky ridges. Ex Thabaneng. Ex Petrus Steyn, O.F.S. Phillips<sup>2</sup> Grows on veld and mountain slopes, 9 to 32 inches in height. Flowers are white and appear in spring-summer. Common round the Leribe Plateau. Found also in Natal, the Cape, Tulbagh, Albany, Pondoland, and East Griqualand.

### *Native Uses*

*Suto*.—A decoction is made by boiling the roots in water, straining and allowing to cool. This is taken internally for colic. A similar decoction made with the roots of this plant and those of several others \* is used in the treatment of sterility. The powdered root is taken internally in teaspoonful doses for colic. An infusion, made from the root, has been found to be very efficacious in colic. It has apparently no narcotic effect.<sup>5</sup> The plant is eaten by herd boys who have pains in the abdomen. Phillips<sup>2</sup> mentions that this plant mixed with *Cussonia paniculata* and *Rhus divericata* is employed in the treatment of colic and painful menstruation. The same mixture is also given in cases of difficult confinement.

*Xosa*.—Smith<sup>3</sup> states that the plant is used by the Xosas as an eye medicine, but gives no details of the method of preparation and administration. Hewat<sup>4</sup> states that an infusion of the root is used by natives for ophthalmia.

### *Chemical Composition and Pharmacological Action.*

No work has been published on the chemical composition and pharmacodynamics of this plant.

*Scabiosa succina* Linn. has been investigated by Bourquelot and Bridel,<sup>6</sup> who isolated from the root a new glucoside and sucrose. Wattiez<sup>7</sup> isolated from the leaves a  $\beta$  methyl glucoside, and Bourquelot and Bridel<sup>8</sup> identified scabiosin, an amorphous glucoside in the leaves.

### REFERENCES

- <sup>1</sup> R. Marloth, "The Flora of South Africa," *Dictionary of the Common Names of Plants*, 1917, 129.
- <sup>2</sup> E. P. Phillips, *Ann. S.A. Museum*, 1917, xvi, 1, 114.
- <sup>3</sup> A. Smith, *A Contribution to South African Materia Medica*, 3rd ed., 1895, 113.
- <sup>4</sup> M. L. Hewat, *Bantu Folk Lore*, 92.
- <sup>5</sup> W. J. van Rensburg, Private Communication.

<sup>6</sup> E. Bourquelot and N. Bridel, *Compt. Rend.*, 1920, 170, 486, through *Chem. Abs.*, 1920, 1525.

<sup>7</sup> L. N. Wattiez, *J. Pharm. Belg.*, 1925, 7, 81-5, through *Chem. Abs.*, 1925, 3, 3284.

<sup>8</sup> E. Bourquelot and N. Bridel, *J. Pharm. Chim.*, 1920, 21, 119, through *Chem. Abs.*, 1920, 1525.

\* See Footnote *Rumex* sp.

## BERKHEYA SETIFERA DC.

Family : COMPOSITÆ

Watt and Brandwijk, Nos. 143, 1604. South African National Herbarium, Nos. 6138 (143), 6021 (1604).

### Common Names

*Suto* : Lematlama, leme la khomo, leme la khomo (Phillips<sup>1</sup>) = tongue of an ox, so-called on account of the rough upper surface of the leaf. Ntsoantsane (Phillips<sup>1</sup>) derived from the verb "ho-tsoantso" = to describe. *Zulu* : u-Limilwekomo (Bryant).<sup>2</sup> u-limilwenyati (Bryant<sup>2</sup>) u-Shaqa (Bryant<sup>2</sup>).

### Growth and Distribution

Ex Teyateyaneng. Ex Thabaneng. Phillips.<sup>1</sup> Grows on mountain slopes, 2 to 3½ feet high ; flowers yellow ; summer. Found also in East Griqualand, Natal, Orange Free State, and the Transvaal.

### Native Uses

*Suto*.—Used in the treatment of sterility.\* Mixed with *Dicoma anomala* it is used in the treatment of liver and stomach diseases.

*Zulu*.—Bryant<sup>2</sup> records the use by the Zulus of *Berkheya* sp. in the treatment of urinary complaints (roots), of rheumatism (roots), of skin diseases (sores) (roots and leaves), and of ophthalmia (roots and leaves).

Dr. F. G. Cawston reports that an infusion of the roots of *Berkheya* (*Stobæa speciosa*) is used by the Zulus in the treatment of hæmaturia. In the *Lancet*,<sup>3</sup> writing on the treatment of bilharziasis, he states that "a fresh infusion in rapidly increasing doses had no effect in two cases"

### Chemical Composition and Pharmacological Action

No investigations are recorded.

### REFERENCES

<sup>1</sup> E. P. Phillips, *Ann. S.A. Museum*, 1917, xvi, 1, 166.

<sup>2</sup> A. T. Brant, *Ann. Natal Museum*, 1909, ii, 1, 49, 58, 65, 67.

<sup>3</sup> F. G. Cawston, *Lancet*, 1921, cci, 1050.

\* See Footnote *Rumex* sp.

*HIERACIUM POLYDON* Fries.

Family : CAMPANULACEÆ

Watt and Brandwijk, No. 144. South African National Herbarium,  
No. 6139.*Common Names**Suto* : Lemi-La-Khomo, Lilime-la-Khomo.*Growth and Distribution*

Ex Teyateyaneng.

*Native Uses*

Used in the treatment of sterility.\*

*Chemical Composition and Pharmacological Action*

No record of any precise investigation of this plant has been found.

Leclerc<sup>1</sup> has investigated *Hieracium pilosella* and finds that it produces diuresis without irritating the renal epithelium.

## REFERENCE

<sup>1</sup> N. Leclerc, *Bull. Sci. Pharmacol.*, 1922, 29, 307.\* See Footnote *Rumex* sp.*AJUGA OPHRYDIS* Burch.

Family : LABIATÆ

Watt and Brandwijk, No. 146. South African National Herbarium,  
No. 6140.*Common Names**Suto* : Senyarela (Phillips<sup>1</sup>) = he who looks in from above.*Growth and Distribution*

Ex Teyateyaneng. Grows on veld and mountain slopes, to a height of 4 to 16 inches. Flowers are mauve: spring-summer. Found also at Uitenhage, Bathurst, Albany, Fort Beaufort, Stockenstrom, Cathcart, Somerset East, Komgha, Transkei, Tembuland, East Griqualand, Natal, Transvaal (Heidelberg, near Lydenburg, Vereeniging).

*Native Uses**Suto*.—Used in the treatment of sterility.\* Phillips<sup>1</sup> reports the plant as being used in the treatment of painful menstruation.*Chemical Composition and Pharmacological Action*

No reference to precise chemical or pharmacological investigation of this plant has been found.

Another species, *Ajuga iva* Schreb., is reported by Ponti<sup>2</sup> as



being use in the treatment of malaria. An acid, ferulic acid, has been isolated from the plant and Ponti regards this acid as the active principle. In the plant, the acid occurs in combination with phloroglucinol.

## REFERENCES

<sup>1</sup> E. P. Phillips, *Ann. S.A. Museum*, 1917, xvi, 1, 246.

<sup>2</sup> Ugo Ponti, *Gazz. Chim. Ital.*, 39, 2, 349, through *Chem. Abs.*, 1911, 764.

\* See Footnote *Rumex* sp.

*OLDENLANDIA AMATYMBICA* Kuntz.

Family: RUBIACEÆ

Watt and Brandwijk, Nos. 147, 1593. South African National Herbarium, Nos. 6141 (147), 6014 (1593).

*Common Names*

*Suto*: Mohlatsisa, Mohatolloane, Mohlatsisa (Phillips <sup>1</sup>) = he who causes vomiting. Morokolopoli (Phillips <sup>1</sup>) = the fæces of a goat (so-called on account of the round black swellings on the roots), Matsoane (Phillips <sup>1</sup>), Lehlokoana (Phillips <sup>1</sup>) = the small piece of grass, 'Ma Ngoakoane (Phillips <sup>1</sup>) = the Mother of Ngoakoane.

*Growth and Distribution*

Ex Teyateyaneng. Ex Thabaneng. Phillips <sup>1</sup> states that the plant grows on veld, mountain slopes and plateau, to a height of 20 to 30 inches. Flowers whitish; spring-summer. Found also at Albany, Queenstown, East Griqualand, Natal, and the Transvaal (Magaliesberg).

*Native Uses*

*Suto*.—The plant is mixed with others \* and used in the treatment of sterility. No details are available as to the precise method of use. It is used as a drink (? emetic) in cases of snake-bite, and in people who have been stunned by lightning stroke. Phillips <sup>1</sup> records that a decoction of the plant is administered to wasting children to make them fat and well.

*Chemical Composition and Pharmacological Action*

No investigation is recorded of the chemical composition and and pharmacodynamics of this plant. *Oldenlandia umbellata* <sup>2</sup> has been found to contain a number of anthraquinone derivatives.

## REFERENCES

<sup>1</sup> E. P. Phillips, *Ann. S.A. Museum*, 1917, xvi, 1, 110.

<sup>2</sup> A. G. Perkin, *Proc. Chem. Soc.*, 1908, 23, 288.

\* See Footnote *Rumex* sp.



*HAPLOCARPHA SCAPOSA* Harv.

Family : COMPOSITÆ

Watt and Brandwijk, Nos. 149, 727, 735, 1576. South African National Herbarium, Nos. 6124 (149), 6122 (727), 6121 (735), 6023 (1576).

*Common Names*

*Suto* : Sesoeu, Liteno, Mereko, Papetloane, Papetloane (Phillips<sup>1</sup>) derived from verb "ho papetla = to flatten, Lengoako (Phillips<sup>1</sup>) = an orphan (so-called because the stem bears a single flower). Lisebo (Phillips<sup>1</sup>) = back-bitings, Leshala (Phillips<sup>1</sup>) = an ember, Liteno (Phillips<sup>1</sup>) = an article of a woman's toilet. *Xosa* : Izikali.

*Growth and Distribution*

Ex Teyateyaneng. Ex Maseru. Ex Thabaneng. A common plant growing on hills and rocky places and also on dry lowlands. Phillips<sup>1</sup> found it on veld, mountain slopes and plateaux, the plant reaching a height of from 12 to 30 inches. The flowers are yellow : summer-autumn. Found also at Somerset East, Aliwal North, Komgha, and in East Griqualand, Bechuanaland, and the Transvaal.

*Native Uses*

*Suto*.—The roots of this plant and those of *Tephrosia semiglabra* Sond., are boiled together and the decoction taken internally for "colds on the chest". A decoction of the roots alone is used in some parts of Basutoland for treating venereal diseases. A decoction of the root is used by women suffering from suppression of the menses.

Phillips<sup>1</sup> records that the crushed leaves are used by raw native women as an article of their toilet. The plant is also used by the witch-doctors when consulting the divine bones.

*Xosa*.—The Xosas use the leaves as an application for sores and open wounds. Sometimes the leaves are mashed up with water and applied as a poultice. Walsh<sup>2</sup> states that *Haplocarpha lyrata* Harv., known as "Bietouw", is regarded as poisonous to stock, causing swelling up with flatulence and even death. He seems to have quoted these observations from Smith.<sup>3</sup>

*Chemical Composition and Pharmacological Action*

No work on the chemistry and pharmacodynamics of this plant has been published.

## REFERENCES

<sup>1</sup> E. P. Phillips, *Ann. S.A. Museum*, 1917, xvi, 1, 164.

<sup>2</sup> L. H. Walsh, *S.A. Poisonous Plants*, 1909, 25.

<sup>3</sup> A. Smith, *A Contribution to South African Materia Medica*, 3rd ed., 1895, 179.

*WITHANIA SOMNIFERA* Dun.

Family: SOLANACEÆ

Watt and Brandwijk, Nos. 185, 755. South African National Herbarium, Nos. 6142 (185); 6133 (755).

*Common Names*

*Afrikaans*: Genees Blaren (Marloth <sup>1</sup>); also applied to *Solanum giganteum*. *Suto*: Mofera Ngopa, Moshala Marupi, Moferangopa (Phillips <sup>2</sup>) = he who overhangs a donga; Bofepha (Phillips <sup>2</sup>). *Zulu*: Ubuvimba, Ubuvimbha (Bryant <sup>3</sup>). *Xosa*: Ubuvumba, u-Vimba, ubu Vumba (Smith <sup>4</sup>); *Fingo*: u Vimba (Smith <sup>4</sup>). *Native*: Ubuvumba (Hewat <sup>5</sup>).

*Growth and Distribution*

Ex Maseru. Ex Marabastad. Grows in rocky places. Phillips <sup>2</sup> states that it grows on mountain slopes, 10 to 40 inches high; flowers, cream; summer. Found also in South-West Africa, Cape, Swellendam, Oudtshoorn, Uitenhage, Alexandria, Albany; Somerset East, Fraserburg, Beaufort West, Graaff Reinet, Aliwal North, Tembuland, Natal, Griqualand West, and the Transvaal.

*Native Uses.*

*Suto*.—The roots are boiled in water and the decoction used for colds and chills. Dr. J. S. van Rensburg <sup>6</sup> informs us that the Sutos chop up the root, wash it, and boil it until the root itself is tasteless. The decoction is poured off periodically and one-half to one cupful taken every half to one hour as required. It is used to tone up the uterus in cases where a woman habitually miscarries and also to remove retained conception products. The use of this decoction produces no untoward symptoms. Dr. van Rensburg states that an old "Kaffir" midwife believes absolutely in the efficacy of this shrub in the treatment of the two conditions mentioned. Phillips <sup>2</sup> reports that the Sutos believe that through witchcraft a small reptile "nohana" may be introduced into the body. To get rid of this animal, a decoction of the plant is either drunk or administered as an enema. Sometimes the ash from the plant is powdered, mixed with fat, and rubbed over the arms for the same condition.

*Zulu*.—An enema made by steeping the decorticated root in warm water is given by the Zulus to infants for feverishness. Bryant <sup>3</sup> states that the plant is regarded by the Zulus as a specific for "gangrenous rectitis": a warm infusion is made from a small

handful of the roots and the same quantity of those of *Pentanisia variabilis* and sufficient water to form a clyster. Preparations of *Withania somnifera* are also used by the Zulus for treating syphilis. Bryant states further that the plant has undoubted antiseptic properties, the leaves being successfully employed in healing sores.

*Xosa*.—For the treatment of anthrax in human beings, the leaves are moistened and the juice squeezed on to the pustules, which are not interfered with in any other way. The plant is used also for disinfecting anthrax infected meat. For wounds and sores an ointment is used, prepared by boiling the leaves in fat. A decoction of the bark of the root is used in asthma and other chest complaints. The green berries are bruised and rubbed into ringworm, in both human beings and animals. This last is apparently the best known and most efficacious native use of the plant. A paste of the leaves is used in cases of syphilis. For saddle sore and girth gall in horses the green berries, leaves and small twigs are pounded into a paste and applied. Smith <sup>4</sup> records similar uses by the Xosas, and Hewat <sup>5</sup> mentions the same (tribes not specified).

#### *Chemical Composition and Pharmacological Action*

Pammel <sup>7</sup> states that the plant is an abortifacient. Trebut <sup>8</sup> records excellent results as an hypnotic from the use of an alcoholic preparation in emphysema, alcoholism, and phthisis (tuberculosis of the lungs). He isolated an alkaloid which he named "somniferine" and states that it is hypnotic but does not dilate the pupil. His statements are not upheld by the very thorough work recorded below.

In the *American Journal of Pharmacy* <sup>9</sup> it is stated that the plant has had various medicinal properties attributed to it, but particularly that it acts as a sedative and hypnotic.

F. B. Power and A. H. Salway <sup>10</sup> have subjected the plant to an exhaustive chemical analysis. From the root they isolated among other things:—0.006 per cent of a light brown, pungent volatile oil, a sugar, a mixture of fatty acids, a new monohydric alcohol (Withaniol,  $C_{25}H_{33}O_4OH$ ), and an amorphous alkaloidal principle which on treating with alkalis yielded a crystalline base,  $C_{12}H_{16}N_2$ . The leaves and stem mixed yielded a very small amount of a volatile oil, tannin, a sugar, a considerable amount of potassium nitrate, a mixture of fatty acids, a new monohydric alcohol (Somnirol,  $C_{32}H_{43}O_6OH$ ), a new dihydric alcohol (Somnitrol,  $C_{33}H_{44}O_5(OH)_2$ ), and withanic acid ( $C_{29}H_{45}O_6COOH$ ).

The plant contains no mydriatic alkaloid. The alcoholic extract of the root (equivalent of 7 gm.) and the alcoholic extract of the leaves and stems (equivalent of 3 gm.) were administered to a dog by Dale and Laidlaw without producing any perceptible effect on the animal. The alkaloid from the root was given subcutaneously to a dog without effect. It can be taken therefore as quite definite that the plant has no narcotic or mydriatic action. Any action which it may produce may be due to the very small amount of volatile oil which is present. This may produce a carminative effect on the bowel and intestine, which is capable of production with a concentration of volatile oil as low as 1 : 20,000.<sup>11</sup>

## REFERENCES

- <sup>1</sup> R. Marloth, "The Flora of South Africa," *Dictionary of the Common Names of Plants*, 1913, 126.
- <sup>2</sup> E. P. Phillips, *Ann. S.A. Museum*, 1917, xvi, 1, 210.
- <sup>3</sup> A. T. Bryant, *Ann. Natal Museum*, 1909, ii, 33, 51, and 65.
- <sup>4</sup> A. Smith, *A Contribution to South African Materia Medica*, 3rd ed., 1895, 50, 59, 83, 100, 133, 145, 157, and 166.
- <sup>5</sup> M. L. Hewat, *Bantu Folk Lore*, 54, 55, 58, 64, 69.
- <sup>6</sup> J. S. van Rensburg, Private Communication.
- <sup>7</sup> L. H. Pammel, *Manual of Poisonous Plants*, 1911, 855.
- <sup>8</sup> Tiebut, *Lancet*, 1886, i, 467.
- <sup>9</sup> *Amer. J. Pharm.*, 1891, 63, 77 (through ref. 10).
- <sup>10</sup> F. B. Power and A. H. Salway, *J. Chem. Soc. Trans.*, 1911, xcix, 490.
- <sup>11</sup> J. W. C. Gunn, *J. Pharm. Exp. Therap.*, 1920, xvi, 39.

*DICOMA ANOMALA* Sond.

Family : COMPOSITÆ

Watt and Brandwijk, Nos. 719, 1572. South African National Herbarium, Nos. 6144 (719), 6001 (1572).

*Common Names.*

*English* : Everlastings. *Afrikaans* : Greyshout, Fivejaartjes, Wormbos (Marloth<sup>1</sup>). *Suto* : Hloejane, Hlœnya, Klœnya (Phillips<sup>2</sup>) = to change colour or to blush. *Xosa* : in-Nyongwane (Smith<sup>3</sup>). *Zulu* : Umuna.

*Growth and Distribution*

Ex Maseru. Grows on dry lands. Ex Thabaneng. Grows in dry rocky places often where there is scanty soil. Phillips<sup>2</sup> records that it grows on veld and mountain slopes, 4 to 20 inches high ; flowers, mauve ; autumn. Found in Albany, Aliwal North, Stutterheim, Natal, Orange Free State, and the Transvaal.



*Native Uses*

*Suto*.—The root is crushed and a decoction made from it. This is strained and taken cold in the treatment of venereal diseases. The powdered flowers are used as a local application for wounds and sores on horses. Mixed with *Berkheya setifera* DC., the plant is taken in "biliousness". It is credited with producing purging. Phillips<sup>2</sup> states that it is used by the Sutos as a medicine for colic and toothache.

*Zulu*.—The Zulus use the same plant as a "blood purifier" in which case a decoction of the root is either taken internally or used as an enema. The burnt root is powdered and used as a local application for scabby sores on children's heads.

*Xosa*.—Smith<sup>3</sup> writes that the leaves are intensely bitter. The Xosas use it in a variety of ways. For colic a tablespoonful of the powdered root is mixed with a cup of water and drunk. They also chew a little of the root when visiting a strange kraal, because it is supposed to make them vomit if they should receive poisoned food.

The root is used by Europeans either in powder or in decoction for the treatment of dysentery.<sup>4</sup>

*Chemical Composition and Pharmacological Action*

This plant has been subjected to an exhaustive chemical analysis by Tutin and Naunton working in the Wellcome Chemical Research Laboratories London.<sup>5</sup> The material which they worked with was obtained from South Africa and consisted of the whole plant including the roots. An alcoholic extract of the whole plant yields a small amount of volatile oil, a small amount of a colourless crystalline glucoside ( $C_{39}H_{58}O_{11}$ ) and the following water-soluble products: a large amount of an amorphous solid which on hydrolysis with alkali yielded 3:4 dihydroxycinnamic acid; and a sugar. A large part of the alcoholic extract was insoluble in water and formed a dark-coloured resinous mass. This consisted mainly of amorphous products, some of which gave 3:4 dihydroxycinnamic acid on hydrolysis. There was also present a small amount of an amorphous alkaloid, hentriacontane ( $C_{31}H_{64}$ ), a phytosterol ( $C_{28}H_{46}O$ ) and the following acids: palmitic, stearic, arachidic, cerotic, and melissic; together with some unsaturated acids. No pharmacodynamical investigation has yet been undertaken.



## REFERENCES

- <sup>1</sup> R. Marloth, "The Flora of South Africa," *Dictionary of the Common Names of Plants*, 1917, 131.
- <sup>2</sup> E. P. Phillips, *Ann. S.A. Museum*, 1917, xvi, 1, 170.
- <sup>3</sup> A. Smith, *A Contribution to South African Materia Medica*, 3rd ed., 1895, 64, 155.
- <sup>4</sup> W. Lutsch, Private Communication.
- <sup>5</sup> F. Tutin and W. J. S. Naunton, *Pharm. J.*, 1913, xc (4th ser., xxxvi), 694.

*LEPIDIUM SCHINZII* Thel.

Family: CRUCIFERÆ

Watt and Brandwijk, No. 722. South African National Herbarium,  
No. 6126.

*Common Names*

*Suto*: Sebitsa (Phillips <sup>1</sup>) = it calls.

*Growth and Distribution*

Ex Maseru. Grows on dry lowlands. Phillips <sup>1</sup> states that it is a herb growing on veld and round kraals. It varies from 4 to 18 inches in height. Flower, white; spring-summer. It is an imported weed.

*Native Uses*

*Suto*.—The bushy part is crushed in the hand while green and sniffed up the nose as a cure for headache. According to Phillips <sup>1</sup> it is apparently also used as a vegetable.

*Chemical Composition and Pharmacological Action*

No published record of any chemical or pharmacodynamical investigation has been found. *Lepidium sativum* has received some attention. Hofmann <sup>2</sup> states that an oil obtained from the plant is "hot". Kobert <sup>3</sup> states that benzyl mustard oil is found as such in the "herb" and in the seed as a glucoside. *Lepidium ruderales* Linn., *Lepidium campestre* R.Br., and *Lepidium lacifolium* Linn., all contain oils belonging to the mustard oil group.

## REFERENCES

- <sup>1</sup> E. P. Phillips, *Ann. S.A. Museum*, 1917, xvi, 1, 40.
- <sup>2</sup> A. W. Hofmann, *Ber. Deut. Chem. Ges.*, 7, 1293, through *J. Chem. Soc.*, 1875, A, 170.
- <sup>3</sup> R. Kobert, *Lehrbuch der Intoxikationen*, 2nd ed., 1906, 538.

*PENTANISIA VARIABILIS* Harv.

Family : RUBIACEÆ

Watt and Brandwijk, No. 726. South African National Herbarium,  
No. 6127.

*Common Names*

*English* : Wild Verbena (Marloth <sup>1</sup>). *Suto* : Setima Mollo, Setima Mollo (Phillips <sup>2</sup>) = the fire extinguisher ("so-called because it relieves the burning pain of boils"). *Xosa* : i-Rubuxa (Smith <sup>3</sup>). *Tembu* : ili-Dliso (Smith <sup>3</sup>). *Fingo* : isi-Cimamlilo (Smith <sup>3</sup>). *Zulu* : Izimamlilo, i-Citshamlilo, om Ncane or Om Kulu = put out the fire, i-Cimamlilo (Bryant <sup>4</sup>). Icitshunlilo (Medley Wood <sup>5</sup>) = put out the fire. *Native* : I-Rubuxa (Hewat <sup>6</sup>).

*Growth and Distribution*

Ex Maseru. Grows on hills and rocky places. Phillips <sup>2</sup> says that it grows on mountain slopes, 7 to 20 inches high. Flowers violet : summer-autumn. Found also in Stockenstroom, Komgha, Transkei, East Griqualand and Natal.

*Native Uses*

*Suto*.—The roots are boiled in water and when cool, the decoction is used in the treatment of venereal disease. Phillips <sup>2</sup> mentions that in the treatment of boils "the roots of the plant are well boiled and the infected limb is placed in the luke-warm decoction : after a time the boils will discharge and the swelling disappear". He records also the following uses : (a) the breasts of a woman after her confinement are rubbed with a lotion prepared from the plant, and (b) in feverish illness the body of the patient is bathed with the lotion. As a charm against witchcraft it is mixed with other plants and rubbed on pegs placed round the "lelapa". This prevents the sorcerer from finding the door of the hut.

According to Smith <sup>3</sup> the root "appears to have properties related to those of Ipecacuanha". The Xosas use a decoction of the crushed root in the treatment of "swelling of the stomach", when it is drunk mixed with sour milk. For "retarded afterbirth" the decoction is administered internally to both women and animals. Smith states that the Fingos call it "isi-Cimamlilo" because it is one of the plants used to remove the effects of lightning stroke.

*Zulu*.—The roots are crushed and steeped in warm water and the water used as an enema in "stomachic pains". The bruised leaves

are soaked in warm water and then applied to painful swellings on the body. Dr. W. A. Addison <sup>7</sup> informs us that the leaves are macerated and used as a fomentation to any swelling in the body and also to the abdomen in cases of retained placenta. Preparations of the leaves and roots are taken internally for fevers, colds, inflammations, and sores. He states, further, that the plant was apparently largely used during the influenza epidemic. The crushed root is applied externally to arrest the emetic effect of "imfuzane" (not determined) and if this is not effective, an infusion or decoction is drunk.

Bryant <sup>4</sup> records that the Zulus take an infusion of the roots internally apparently in the treatment of chronic dysentery and possibly in piles.

Medley Wood <sup>5</sup> states that the plant is probably used by the Zulus in cases of inflammation (he appears here to be arguing from the Zulu name).

An infusion is used internally and a paste externally by natives in the treatment of scrofula (Hewat <sup>6</sup>).

Marloth <sup>8</sup> calls the plant "ipecac-substitute".

#### *Chemical Composition and Pharmacological Action*

Nothing is on record.

#### REFERENCES

- <sup>1</sup> R. Marloth, "The Flora of South Africa," *Dictionary of the Common Names of Plants*, 1917, 129.
- <sup>2</sup> E. P. Phillips, *Ann. S.A. Museum*, 1917, xvi, 1, 110.
- <sup>3</sup> A. Smith, *A Contribution to South Africa Materia Medica*, 3rd ed., 1895, 65 and 90.
- <sup>4</sup> A. T. Bryant, *Ann. Natal Museum*, 1909, ii, 1, 31.
- <sup>5</sup> J. Medley Wood, *Natal Plants*, 3, plate 251.
- <sup>6</sup> M. L. Hewat, *Bantu Folk Lore*, 62.
- <sup>7</sup> W. A. Addison, Private Communication.
- <sup>8</sup> R. Marloth, *The Chemistry of South African Plants and Plant Products*, 1913, 6.

### *TEPHROSIA SEMIGLABRA* Sond.

Family : LEGUMINOSÆ

Watt and Brandwijk, No. 728. South African National Herbarium,  
No. 6128.

#### *Common Names*

*Suto* : Pelo Li Maroba Ea Thaba.

#### *Growth and Distribution*

Ex Maseru.

### Native Uses

*Suto*.—Used along with *Haplocarpha scaposa* (q.v.) in the treatment of colds.

### Chemical Composition and Pharmacological Action

No investigation has been published on this plant. *Tephrosia vogelii* Hook, has received some attention. It is known by the Rhodesian natives by the names of "Ulula" and "Uwa". It has been used by natives as a fish poison in Rhodesia, Madagascar, and along the East Coast of Africa. The effect is to stupefy the fishes and make it easy to catch them. Hanriot<sup>1</sup> found the leaves toxic. He isolated from them a volatile liquid, tephrosal, and a toxic neutral principle, tephrosin, which melts at 187° C. In a later publication<sup>2</sup> he states that he tested the toxicity on fish and found that tephrosin was much the most toxic substance isolated from the plant. It appeared to be a more or less specific poison to these animals. The Imperial Institute<sup>3</sup> has also worked on the plant and found that the leaves contain 0.5 per cent of tephrosin and the seeds double this amount. They demonstrated practically that the toxic action of the plant to fish is dependent on the tephrosin content. Tatterfield and Gemingham<sup>4</sup> tested watery and alcoholic extracts of the leaves and seeds against *Aphis rumicis* Linn., and found that these preparations were highly toxic to these insects. The toxicity was of the same order as that of nicotine extract. They suggested that this discovery might be of some practical utility.

Bentley<sup>5</sup> states that *Tephrosia toxicaria* and other species of *Tephrosia* are used as fish poisons. Kobert<sup>6</sup> mentions that both *Tephrosia toxicaria* and *Tephrosia piscatoria* are local irritants and general drastics. They have been used since olden times as arrow poisons, fish poisons, purgatives, skin irritants, etc. Juritz<sup>7</sup> states that *Tephrosia toxicaria* is supposed to resemble *Digitalis* in action. Bryant<sup>8</sup> mentions that *Tephrosia macropoda* and *T. diffusa* are very poisonous though they are used medicinally by the Zulus. Clarke and Banerjee<sup>9</sup> have isolated from *Tephrosia purpurea* about 2 per cent of a glucoside (melting point 180° to 185° C.) which on hydrolysis gives quercetin and dextrose.

### REFERENCES

- <sup>1</sup> M. Hanriot, *Compt. Rend.*, 1907, 144, 150, through *Chem. Abs.*, 1907, 1013.
- <sup>2</sup> M. Hanriot, *Compt. Rend.*, 1907, 144, 499, through *Chem. Abs.*, 1907, 1297.
- <sup>3</sup> Imperial Institute, *Bull. Imp. Inst.*, 1905, 13, 1, 61.



<sup>4</sup> F. Tatterfield and C. T. Gemingham, *Ann. Appl. Biol.*, 1925, 12, 61, through *Chem. Abs.*, 1925, 2, 1750.

<sup>5</sup> Bentley, *Manual of Botany*, 1887, 535.

<sup>6</sup> R. Kobert, *Lehrbuch der Intoxikationen*, 2nd ed., 1906, 567.

<sup>7</sup> C. F. Juritz, *S.A.J. Sci.*, 1914, xi, 131.

<sup>8</sup> A. T. Bryant, *Ann. Natal Museum*, 1909, ii, 1, 12.

<sup>9</sup> G. Clarke, jun., and S. C. Banerjee, *Proc. Chem. Soc.*, 1910, 25, 16.

## VERNONIA KRAUSII Sch. Bip.

Family : COMPOSITÆ

Watt and Brandwijk, No. 729. South African National Herbarium,  
No. 6129.

### Common Names

*Suto*.—Mofefa Bana, Mofefa-bana (Phillips <sup>1</sup>) = the wiper of the children.

### Growth and Distribution

*Ex Maseru*. Grows on the lowlands in dry parts. Phillips <sup>1</sup> records it as growing on veld and mountain slopes, 10 to 22 inches high. Flowers violet: summer-autumn. The plant is found also in East Griqualand, Transkei, Pondoland, Zululand, Bechuanaland, Orange Free State (Rietfontein, Bloemfontein), and Transvaal (Barberton, Ermelo).

### Native Uses

*Suto*.—A bunch of the plant is tied to a stick and is waved towards an approaching hailstorm: it is supposed to divert the hail. Phillips <sup>1</sup> records that it is used to wipe dirt from children. The smoke from burning of the plant is supposed to divert an approaching hailstorm.

*Zulu*.—J. Medley Wood <sup>2</sup> illustrates the plant in his *Natal Plants* and states that it has no known useful properties. As far as can be learnt the natives (Zulus) do not use it for any purpose.

J. Burt-Davy <sup>3</sup> states that the plant is used in the Lydenburg district as a cure for dysentery.

### Chemical Composition and Pharmacological Action

No investigation of the chemical composition or of the pharmacodynamics of this plant has been recorded. Bhaduri <sup>4</sup> has examined the seeds of *Vernonia anthelmintica* L., and states that they contain a glucoside to which the name of Shomerajin has been assigned. The seeds contain in addition an oil. Cacus and Mhaskar <sup>5</sup> have used the same plant in the treatment of hook-worm disease. It does not appear to be of much use as they state that the percentage of cases

of hook-worm removed was 0.5 and the percentage of cases cured none. Heckel and Schlagdenhauffen<sup>6</sup> have examined *Vernonia nigritiana* from West Africa and known by the names of "Batiator" and "Batjentor". They state that it is of some repute as a vermifuge. The plant contains no emetine and no alkaloids. The root contains a glucoside which, after hydrolysis, gives glucose and a resinous substance. This glucoside, named Vernoinine, is the only active principle. By injection, it produces a typical digitalis action, with an activity about one-eightieth that of "Digitalin".

#### REFERENCES

- <sup>1</sup> E. P. Phillips, *Ann. S.A. Museum*, 1917, xvi, 1, 115.
- <sup>2</sup> J. Medley Wood, *Natal Plants*, iv, plate 334.
- <sup>3</sup> J. Burt-Davy, *Second Report Dir. Vet. Res.* (Union of South Africa), 1912, 200.
- <sup>4</sup> K. Bhaduri, *Proc. Chem. Soc.*, 1912, 28, 53, through *Chem. Abs.*, 1913, 2775.
- <sup>5</sup> J. P. Cacus and K. S. Mhaškar, *Ind. J. Med. Res.*, 1923, 11, 366, 373.
- <sup>6</sup> E. Heckel and F. Schlagdenhauffen, *Compt. Rend.*, 106, 1446, through *J. Chem. Soc.*, 1888, A, 964.

### CHEILANTHES HIRTA Sw.

Family: FILICES

Watt and Brandwijk, No. 731. South African National Herbarium,  
No. 6130.

#### Common Names

*English*: Parsley Fern (Marloth<sup>1</sup>). *Suto*: Mahoane, Ma Mavaneng (Phillips<sup>2</sup>) = the mother in the caves, Lehorometso (Phillips<sup>2</sup>) derived from the verb "ho horometsa" = to cause (something) to be poured on the ground.

#### Growth and Distribution

Ex Maseru. Grows under rocks and in shady places on mountain slopes, reaching 5 to 20 inches in height. Flowers in autumn-summer. The plant is not peculiar to Basutoland but is found throughout South Africa (Phillips<sup>2</sup>).

#### Native Uses

*Suto*.—The leaves and roots are burnt in a vessel. The fumes thus formed (evidently inhaled) are said to drive out certain small snakes which are supposed by their presence in the body to cause disease. Very probably these parasites are some variety of intestinal helminth.

Phillips<sup>2</sup> records that a decoction made from the plant is taken internally for the treatment of colds and sore throats. Formerly

it was used alone, but nowadays ginger is added. According to Phillips other ferns are also used by the Basuto for this purpose, but the species under consideration is regarded as the most efficacious.

*Chemical Composition and Pharmacological Action*

No chemical or pharmacological investigation seems to have been done on this plant.

REFERENCES

- <sup>1</sup> R. Marloth, "The Flora of South Africa," *Dictionary of the Common Names of Plants*, 1917, 100.
- <sup>2</sup> E. P. Phillips, *Ann. S.A. Museum*, 1917, xvi, 1, 363.

*CYNOGLOSSUM ENERVE* Turez.

Family : BORAGINÆ

Watt and Brandwijk, No. 732. South African National Herbarium, No. 6131.

*Common Names*

*Suto* : Bohomenyane, Bohomenyana (Phillips<sup>1</sup>) derived from the verb "ho bohome" = to stick to.

*Growth and Distribution*

Ex Maseru. Grows on dry lowlands. Phillips<sup>1</sup> found it growing on veld and mountain slopes 8 to 35 inches high. Flowers are dark crimson and violet: summer. Not common. It is found also at the Cape, Riversdale, Uitenhage, Albany, Bathurst, Cathcart, Somerset East, Tembuland, Pondoland, Natal, Orange Free State and the Transvaal (Aapie's River, Johannesburg).

*Native Uses*

*Suto*.—The leaves and roots are boiled in water and the steam from the water inhaled in fever. Phillips<sup>1</sup> states that it is used as a medicine for colic in children.

*Chemical Composition and Pharmacological Action*

No chemical or pharmacological examination has been made of *Cynoglossum enerve*, but *Cynoglossum officinale* has received a considerable amount of attention. Kobert<sup>2</sup> states that it contains cynoglossin, an alkaloid with a curare-like action (viz. paralyses the motor nerve endings). Greimer<sup>3</sup> states that *Cynoglossum* sp. and *Anchusa* sp. have a pelletierine-like smell. He isolated from them an alkaloid—cynoglossin, which has a curare-like action. They also contain a gluco-alkaloid—consolidin, which has a paralysing action on the central nervous system. From this gluco-alkaloid there can be

isolated the alkaloid-consolicin. Consolicin has the same action as consolidin, but is three times as toxic. The same author in a later publication <sup>4</sup> isolated cynoglossin from *Cynoglossum officinale*, *Anchusa officinale*, and *Echium vulgare*. They contain 0·002 to 0·0035 per cent of cynoglossin in the form of the hydrochloride. This alkaloid has a curare-like action. In addition the plants contain cholin and a glucoside consolidin (0·0005 to 0·0017 per cent). Siedler <sup>5</sup> reports that the root of *Cynoglossum officinale* contains cynoglossin-Riedel (0·12 per cent). It is a thick fluid alkaloid, at first colourless, with an intense bitter taste. It is narcotic.

#### REFERENCES

- <sup>1</sup> E. P. Phillips, *Ann. S.A. Museum*, 1917, xvi, 1, 203.
- <sup>2</sup> R. Kobert, *Lehrbuch der Intoxikationen*, 2nd ed., 1906, 1186.
- <sup>3</sup> K. Greimer, *Arch. Exp. Path. u. Pharm.*, 1898, 41, 287, through *Chem. Cent.*, 1898, ii, 1135.
- <sup>4</sup> K. Greimer, *Arch der Pharm.*, 1900, 238, 505, through *Chem. Cent.*, 1900, ii, 980.
- <sup>5</sup> P. Siedler, *Ber. Deut. Pharm. Ges.*, 12, 64, through *Chem. Cent.*, 1902, i, 823.

### *LASIOSIPHON LINIFOLIUS* Dcne.

Family : THYMELACEÆ

Watt and Brandwijk, No. 734, 1590. South African National Herbarium, No. 6132 (734), 6030 (1590).

#### *Common Names*

*Suto* : Mofubetsoane, Thopana, Thopa e nyenyane (Phillips <sup>1</sup>) = the small "thopa". Thopa = to oppress, Setele (Phillips <sup>1</sup>).

#### *Growth and Distribution*

Ex Maseru. Grows on lowland veld. Ex Thabaneng. Rather rare. Phillips <sup>1</sup> states that it grows on veld and mountain slopes, 8 to 20 inches high. Flowers light brown : spring. Found also at Somerset East and in East Griqualand, Bechuanaland, and the Transvaal (Houtbosch, Barberton).

#### *Native Uses*

*Suto*.—A decoction of the roots is given as an enema and is said to cure severe backache. It is applied locally for sprains and to the jaw for toothache. A decoction of the root causes vomiting and is taken by the mouth for anthrax. Phillips <sup>1</sup> states that it is used as a snuff to cure headache and that it is said to be non-poisonous.

*Xosa*.—Smith <sup>2</sup> records that the Xosas use it for snake-bite and the Gaikas for sore throat. He states also that the roots when chewed



are at first tasteless, later hot. They are used for sore throat either by decoction or by chewing the roots themselves.

### *Chemical Composition and Pharmacological Action*

There is no record of investigation of this plant. Marloth<sup>3</sup> mentions that *Lasiosiphon meisnerianus* Endl. (which is found in Basutoland) and other species of *Lasiosiphon* contain a very pungent principle, but whether it is identical with mezerein is not known. Mezerein is the active principle of *Daphne mezereum*. Rogerson<sup>4</sup> mentions that when the root-bark of *Lasiosiphon meisnerianus* is chewed, it produces a burning sensation in the throat, which sensation persists for several hours. The root contains no alkaloids, no volatile oil, and no volatile products. Tannin and sugar are both present and also 12.3 per cent of a brown resin, which is irritating to the nose and which, when placed on the tongue, produces the same sensations as are produced by chewing the root.

### REFERENCES

- <sup>1</sup> E. P. Phillips, *Ann. S.A. Museum*, 1917, xvi, 1, 255.
- <sup>2</sup> A. Smith, *A Contribution to South African Materia Medica*, 3rd ed., 1895, 36, 127.
- <sup>3</sup> R. Marloth, *The Chemistry of South African Plants and Plant Products*, 1913, 12.
- <sup>4</sup> H. Rogerson, *Amer. J. Pharm.*, 83, 49, through *Chem. Abs.*, 1911, 1157.

## *LIPPIA ASPERIFOLIA* Rich.

Family : VERBENACEÆ

Watt and Brandwijk, No. 740. South African National Herbarium, No. 6120.

### *Common Names*

*Suto*: Joala Ba Li Nonyana. *Xosa*: Inziyiniba, in-Zinziniba (Smith<sup>1</sup>). *Zulu*: um-Suzwane (Bryant<sup>2</sup>). *Native*: Umzinzinibe, um-Suswane (*Flora capensis*<sup>3</sup>).

### *Growth and Distribution*

Ex Maseru. Grows on hills and rocky places. It is said to grow very plentifully round Kingwilliamstown.<sup>1</sup> Found Eastern Province, and Engcobo.

### *Native Uses*

*Suto*.—The roots are burnt in a fire and ground into a powder. This powder is sprinkled on the ground and a person or beast with a fractured limb is made to touch the powder with the injured limb. This procedure is believed to cure or mend the fracture. We are informed that the above is a strongly held belief among the Sutos, and that the procedure is frequently carried out.

*Xosa*.—A decoction of the fresh leaves is used for colds and coughs. Smith<sup>1</sup> records that the Xosas mix a decoction of the leaves with a decoction of wormwood (*Artemisia afra*). The Xosas take it internally for colds “or perhaps rather in a sort of low feverish inflammation in the lungs common among natives”. The plant is also used by the Xosas as a disinfectant for anthrax-infected meat. Further it is administered to prevent inflammation in fever, influenza, and measles.

*Zulu*.—Bryant<sup>2</sup> states that the Zulus drink an infusion of the leaves in the treatment of “gangrenous rectitis”. The bark of *Rauwolfia natalensis* and of *Lippia asperifolia* is a cure for “the eruptive fevers, e.g. smallpox and measles”. In the *Flora Capensis*<sup>3</sup> it is stated that in British Kaffraria the plant is used medicinally and is known as “fever tree”. It is also found in Tropical Africa and Tropical America. The plant appears to be in general use among the South African native tribes, the usual method of preparation being to boil a small quantity of leaves and stems in about a pint of milk, which is then strained. Small doses are taken in coughs, colds, and bronchial complaints.

#### *Chemical Composition and Pharmacological Action*

Nothing is known of the chemical composition and pharmacodynamics of the plant.

Barbier<sup>4</sup> publishes that *Lippia citriodora* contains a volatile oil which contains 70 per cent of lippiol. He<sup>5</sup> later reinvestigated the plant and states that it contains a volatile oil, containing between 65 and 70 per cent of limonal, an isomer of ordinary limonal. Peckolt<sup>6</sup> has investigated *Lippia urticoides* Stand., and finds that the flowers after steam distillation yield 0.063 per cent of a volatile oil. This is yellow and has a neroli-like (orange-flower) odour. Power and Tutin<sup>7</sup> publish the following details regarding *Lippia scaberina* Sond. It is a South African plant known in the Orange Free State as “Beukess Boss” and is credited with hæmostatic, tonic, and laxative properties. The mixed leaves and stems contain no alkaloid but 5.5 per cent tannin. They also contain a volatile oil with a camphoraceous odour. There is left after extracting the oil, a resinous mass which contains among other things a new colourless substance named lippianol and a glucoside-like substance which was not isolated.

#### REFERENCES

- <sup>1</sup> A. Smith, *A Contribution to South African Materia Medica*, 3rd ed., 1895, 59, 101.
- <sup>2</sup> A. T. Bryant, *Ann. Natal Museum*, 1909, ii, 34, 46.
- <sup>3</sup> *Flora Capensis*, v, 1, 195.

<sup>4</sup> P. Barbier, *Chem. Cent.*, 1901, 1, 711.

<sup>5</sup> P. Barbier, *Bull. Soc. Chim.*, 1899, 3, 21, 635, through *J. Chem. Soc. Abs.*, 1899, 2, 769.

<sup>6</sup> T. H. Peckolt, *Ber. Deut. Pharm. Ges.*, 14, 465, (18), 11, 1904, Rio, through *Chem. Cent.*, 1905, 1, 387.

<sup>7</sup> F. B. Power and F. Tutin, *Archiv. Pharm.*, 245, 337, through *Chem. Abs.*, 1908, 1680.

### GERBERA PILOSELLOIDES Cass.

Family: COMPOSITÆ

Watt and Brandwijk, No. 765. South African National Herbarium, No. 6134.

#### Common Names

*Sesuto*: Tseba Pelo, Mothuntsetso (Phillips <sup>1</sup>) = he who makes smoke rise, Tseba ea Pela (Phillips <sup>1</sup>) = the rock rabbit's ear.

#### Growth and Distribution

Ex Maseru. Grows on dry lowlands. Phillips <sup>1</sup> records that it grows on veld and mountain slopes, 4 to 20 inches high. Flowers pale yellow: spring, summer. Found also at the Cape, in Stockenstroom, Kingwilliamstown, Komgha, Tembuland, and East Griqualand.

#### Native Uses

*Suto*.—The roots together with those of "letapiso" (supposed to be *Senecio purpurens*) are boiled in water. The decoction is said to be a good tonic and is used in several illnesses (not specified by our correspondent).

Phillips <sup>1</sup> says that the plant is used to fumigate the hut of a person suffering with a cold in the head.

#### Chemical Composition and Pharmacological Action

The plant does not seem to have been investigated in any way.

#### REFERENCE

<sup>1</sup> E. P. Phillips, *Ann. S.A. Museum*, 1917, xvi, 1, 170.

### ARTEMISIA AFRA Jacq.

Family: COMPOSITÆ

Watt and Brandwijk, No. 761. South African National Herbarium, No. 6136.

#### Common Names

*English*: Wormwood. *Afrikaans*: Wilde Als = Als = Alsem (v. Marloth <sup>1</sup>). *Suto*: Lengana. *Zulu*: Umhlonyane, Um Hlonyane

(Bryant<sup>2</sup>). *Xosa* : Mhlonyane, Umhlonyane, Um Hlonyane (Smith<sup>3</sup>).  
*Native* : Lengana, Lenoana.

### *Growth and Distribution*

**Ex Maseru.** Grows near water. Phillips<sup>4</sup> records the plant as growing in damp and shady spots on mountains, 15 to 40 inches high. Flowers yellow : summer-autumn. This plant is widespread throughout South Africa and is often cultivated in gardens for medicinal purposes.

### *Native Uses*

**Suto.**—The leaves are boiled in water and the decoction taken for colds. An infusion of the leaves is instilled into the ears for earache. Phillips<sup>4</sup> states that a decoction is administered as an enema to constipated children and a lotion for washing the body is also prepared from the plant.

**Zulu.**—The Zulus takes doses of a wineglassful of a decoction for colds and chills. Bryant<sup>2</sup> records that they use an infusion (made by infusing a double handful of the leaves in a quart or so of hot water) as a clyster (enema) or emetic in the treatment of “um Khuhlane” (which means any “feverish” condition, frequently malaria).

**Xosa.**—The Xosas use a decoction for coughs and colds. Sometimes they mix the plant with others in making the medicine. They also use the plant in a steam bath, by placing it in a pot of boiling water, sitting down beside the pot, and covering themselves and the pot with a blanket. In addition two tablespoonfuls of the decoction are taken internally, nowadays often mixed with a little brandy. This treatment is taken for influenza, colds, coughs, headaches, loss of appetite and “bad taste in the mouth”. For acute coryza (with blockage of the nose) some leaves are placed in the nose, while others are boiled and the decoction taken internally with a little sugar. Smith<sup>3</sup> and Hewat<sup>5</sup> record similar uses.

*Artemisia afra* is in very general use throughout South Africa, among Europeans as well as natives. The commonest European use is undoubtedly for colds, coughs, bronchitis and other respiratory conditions. For these it is taken internally as an infusion or decoction, sometimes with the addition variously of brandy, sugar, ginger, thyme, rosemary, mint, and chamomile. An infusion is sometimes made from a mixture of *A. afra*, *Asmitopsis asteriscoides* Cass. and blue gum. The plant is bitter and the same preparations are used as a bitter



tonic to improve appetite and also commonly taken for dyspepsia. A warm infusion is given to young children for "sour stomach" and other gastric conditions. The hot infusion is taken at bedtime to promote sweating, and is also used as a lotion for hæmorrhoids. Preparations of this plant have a great reputation in "bringing out" the rash in the exanthemata. The leaves are also used as a local application. For "blood poisoning" and other inflammatory conditions on the surface of the body a poultice of the boiled leaves is applied. For neuralgia the leaves are placed between two pieces of thin cloth, heated, and applied to the affected area.

It is quite clear from records that the medicinal use of this plant dates back at least one hundred and eight years, for we find Burchell<sup>19</sup> mentioning its use. Pappe<sup>6</sup> describes all of the uses mentioned above. In addition he states that a tincture is an efficient vermifuge. Wicht,<sup>7</sup> more recently, has published a few notes on the plant.

#### *Chemical Composition and Pharmacological Action*

There are about 350 species of *Artemisia*, of which about thirty have been examined chemically.

The most important of these is *Artemisia maritima* var. *Stechmanniana* Bess., which is the main source of the important anthelmintic, santoninum.<sup>8</sup> Others which have been found to yield santoninum are: *A. lerceana*,<sup>9</sup> *A. pauciflora*,<sup>9</sup> *A. brevifolia*<sup>10 11 12</sup> Wall., *A. neo-mexicana* Wooton,<sup>13</sup> *A. wrightii*,<sup>13</sup> and *A. cina* Bery.<sup>14</sup> There appears to be some doubt as to whether *A. gallica* Willd.<sup>16 18</sup> and *A. mexicana* Willd.<sup>13 15</sup> contain santoninum, for the published investigations are contradictory.

All the species which have been examined have been found to contain a volatile oil and in some cases a camphor. *Artemisia absinthium* Linn. is used in the preparation of absinthe.

*Artemisia afra* has been analysed by Goodson.<sup>17</sup> He finds that the plant contains neither santoninum nor anything which could be regarded as related to it. On the other hand he found that he could isolate about 0.5 per cent of a volatile oil with a camphoraceous odour. This crude oil yielded about 13.5 per cent dextro-rotatory camphor. In addition, he isolated the following substances: a wax ester (probably ceryl cerotate), triacontane, scopoletin, and quebrachitol.

No precise pharmacological investigation is on record. It is, however, clearly evident from the above chemical analysis that any action which the plant has is due to its content of volatile oil and

camphor. These would act as (a) a pungent bitter, (b) a very mild antiseptic, (c) a carminative, (d) an irritant, and (e) possibly an anthelmintic, especially against hook-worm (*Ancylostoma duodenale*).

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## REVIEWS

THE PHONETICS OF THE ZULU LANGUAGE. By C. M. DOKE, M.A., D.Litt. Special number *Bantu Studies*, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 1926. 310 pp. 15s. 6d. nett.

This book is by far the most important and useful work that has ever appeared on the Phonetics of any African language. I do not wish in any way to disparage the excellent work of Meinhof and other writers of the German school. Meinhof's *Lautehre des Zulu*<sup>1</sup> is an excellent piece of work in its way; but I must confess that a clear descriptive account of the pronunciation of a language, with full directions for learning it, appeals to me more than a treatise concerned largely with the relationships between a language and its hypothetical ancestor.

Dr. Doke's book deals in great detail with every feature of Zulu pronunciation. The vowels are accurately described and compared with those of English and with the Cardinal Vowels. The consonants too (including clicks and click-combinations), are described most minutely. Methods are given for acquiring a correct pronunciation of all the difficult sounds. Full information is given on the subjects of the length of the sounds and the stress of syllables, and a chapter of fifty-five pages is devoted to the tones. There are also a number of phonetically transcribed texts, some useful concluding chapters, and appendices dealing with orthography, grammar, and other topics, including phonetic features of Xosa, Qwabi, Swazi, Suto, Bushman, Hottentot, and other languages.

The book abounds in new discoveries and valuable rules relating to the pronunciation of Zulu. The author has not spared himself the arduous task of finding numerous examples to illustrate his points. The chapters on the tones are particularly worthy of commendation, especially since, as far as I know, no serious attempt has ever been made before to classify the Zulu tones. Dr. Doke's classification of the tones may appear at first sight unduly complicated, but it must be remembered that in pioneer work of this kind, it is always necessary to err on the side of over-minuteness in the first instance. Now that a

<sup>1</sup> Though Meinhof's "*Lautehre des Zulu*" was published in December, 1924, Dr. Doke's work is in no way indebted to it. His MS. was completed before the appearance of Meinhof's work.

first detailed analysis of the tones has been made, further rules of tone of a simpler nature, than those formulated by Dr. Doke, will probably emerge which will enable learners to acquire the tones with comparative ease, and will enable authors of Zulu manuals to represent the tones in a fairly simple manner.

My chief criticism of the book is that the form of phonetic transcription used is unnecessarily complicated. It appears to be continually necessary to remind transcribers of languages that, even in a specialized scientific work like the present one, it is almost always best to use a "broad" type of transcription—that is to say, a type of transcription that uses the minimum number of symbols consistently with avoiding ambiguity. In such a type of transcription the same letter sometimes has to do duty for two different sounds, but this only arises where the use of the two sounds in the language is determined by an invariable rule. Thus, there was no necessity for Dr. Doke to use special symbols for the labio-dental *m* and labio-dental *b* in transcribing the group *mbv*, as the rule that *m* and *b* have these values before *v* is invariable. The use of several other special phonetic symbols could, I think, have been avoided by the use of other conventions or by the use of digraphs.

Dr. Doke might at least have given us some phonetic texts in "broad" transcription based on the principle of one letter (or digraph) per phoneme. It is to be hoped that he will do so in the next edition. Further editions will assuredly be called for, as the book has already established itself as the standard work on the subject with which it deals.

DANIEL JONES.

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PYGMIES AND BUSHMEN OF THE KALAHARI. By S. S. DORMAN, F.R.G.S. 318 pp. London: Seeley Service and Co., Ltd., 1925. 21s. nett.

Mr. Dorman's interesting book comes to remind us of how little we know about the Bushman after four hundred years of European contact with these fascinating peoples. An anthropological survey of the inhabitants of this country, such as other countries can boast of concerning their primitive inhabitants, has never been made. Indeed, it is hard to see how it ever could be made in the absence of Universities to cultivate students in the methods of such surveys and of a Government alive to the fundamental necessity for such surveys.



Our author deserves all credit for bringing to a wide circle of readers a vast assemblage of data, and for directing the more deeply interested to the relevant literature upon these matters. He has gathered together a number of extremely interesting photographs and personal experiences. In telling of his witnessing certain of the ritual dances whets our appetite for fuller information.

This is a book obviously designed for the lay person, and as such is well calculated to direct the attention of many to the fascinations within their midst. To the student in Africa it is a challenge to be up and doing in order to solve while they are still with us the innumerable mysteries of the Bushman's anatomy, customs, and language. One trusts that it is not the last of the books concerning travel in South Africa, but that to an increasing extent our valuable books of travel will be supplemented by the more minute and exact records of the trained anthropological, ethnographical, and philological students who will go out from our youthful universities.

R. A. D.

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# BANTU STUDIES

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## *BUSHMEN OF CENTRAL ANGOLA*

by D. F. BLEEK

### *INTRODUCTION*

In 1925 I spent six months travelling across Angola from the Rhodesian border to Lobito Bay. Miss M. A. Pocock was with me, pursuing botanical studies. From Livingstone we went by boat up the Zambesi to about the 15° S. latitude, (opposite Lialui), then by carriers into and across Angola keeping between the 14° and 15° S. latitude still we reached the Cueleir river near the 16° East longitude. Thence we struck north to the railway, which we reached at Vila Silva Porta, better known as Bie. There we took train for Lobito Bay.

My object in undertaking this journey was to look up the Bushmen, of whose presence here I had been told by members of the South African General Mission working among the Mbunda, Luchazi, Kangali and Nyemba, Bantu tribes who inhabit this part of Central Angola. With the help of the missionaries I succeeded in finding them.

We saw and talked to three Bushmen at Ninde Mission station on the Ninde River two days march from the Portuguese border. Five days march further on we camped on the Kutsi river, a tributary of the Kwando not far from the homes of a group of Bushmen. Two families came and built themselves huts close to us, others visited us. A ten days march to the South-west brought us to the Kunzumbia River, a tributary of the Lomba, where many Bushmen were said to live. Here we played hide and seek with them for several weeks, finding many recently occupied encampments, but only twice getting speech with the people themselves. The Kangali chiefs were evidently keeping them away. I think the local officials had been trying to make the chiefs responsible for the Bushmen paying hut tax and had beaten the chiefs, when the payment was not forthcoming. Naturally they denied the presence of the little people, and tried to prevent any Europeans from seeing them. However the two interviews I obtained (one in the chief's absence, the other just as we were leaving), were sufficient to identify this group as belonging to the same tribe as the rest.

Thirteen days march further to the west, between the Cuevi and the Cueleï, on the Mushombu, a tributary of the former, we found a big Bushman encampment. Here the Bushmen were evidently not taxed, but were on very good terms with passing police; consequently they were not shy, and there was no difficulty in meeting them.

### TRIBE

The Bushmen we saw east and west had some slight difference in appearance and habits, but all spoke one language, all called themselves by one name, *!kū* or *!kuy*. This word means "person, people", but when used without an adjective signifies "Bushman" to them. Their various black neighbours are designated as *Gova* "Kafir", or as *dzu !kū* "black people". They sometimes call themselves *!gei !kū* "red people" or *!o !kū* "forest people". White men are designated by a Bantu word.

*!kū* Bushmen inhabit the north-east corner of the S. W. Protectorate to this day; in 1879 Palgrave sent down some boys from north of Lake Ngami, who called themselves *!kuy*. There are only slight differences between the speech of all who call themselves by this name, and the *||kau ||en* ("Auen") found a little further south speak very similarly. They are evidently members of one very large Bushman group, which I think must formerly have occupied more territory than it does now, as travellers report the presence of other Bushmen tribes, such as the *Tannakwe*, and *Hukwe* in the territory to the north of lake Ngami and even in the south-east corner of Angola.

### APPEARANCE AND SIZE

The colour of the *!o !kū* varies from dingy yellow to yellowish black or to red, almost copper-colour. All these shades appear wherever a yellow race and a black one intermarry, and are one sign that the Bushmen of Angola are no longer a pure race. Another indication of this is their height. I measured 22 men and 22 women.

The heights were:

	men	women
tallest	170 cm	161.3 cm
shortest	145.5 cm	135 cm
average	159.3 cm	148.8 cm
average height of both sexes 154 cm.		

This is a distinct increase on the height of all Bushmen south of the tropic of Capricorn.

The hair is black and short, sometimes growing in small groups of curly hairs, generally described as "peppercorn" growth, sometimes woolly. Their teeth are very bad even among the boys and girls;



probably this is a result of their living on meal and soft food, as their Kalahari brethren living on wild vegetables have most magnificent teeth.

The limbs of all are slight, the bones small, the feet narrow, a great contrast to the almost three cornered feet of their black neighbours. There is not much steatopygia, yet the backbone curves in a good bit. The features vary, some approaching those of the Southern Bushmen, others, the darker individuals, having distinctly Kafir traits, others again having long narrow faces with aquiline noses and almost Semitic features. Among the latter we find both red and yellow skinned persons. I think there must have been some small admixture of the blood of some Semitic fair or yellow race in bygone days. Possibly Arab slave traders held Bushmen women as temporary wives.

The features of individuals in the surrounding Bantu tribes, particularly among the chiefs, remind one much of pictures of Arabs. Of course the Bushmen might have acquired these features from the Bantu, but in that case they would hardly be among the fairer, redder members of the tribe, but among the darker ones.

On the whole the *!o !kū* remind me most of the *!kū* of the S. W. Protectorate, as is only natural. Some of the smaller women, especially those seen on the Kunzumbia, bear a distinct likeness to the Naron of the Central Kalahari, but the type with Semitic features I have not seen elsewhere, save in a couple of individuals at Lake Chrisie in the Eastern Transvaal, also members of a very mixed group.

### TERRITORY

According to information given by the Bushmen we met, the country inhabited by their people extends from the *Mjuma* in the north to the Lomba in the south, from the Ninde in the east to Kaiundu beyond the Okavango in the west. They know no other Bushman tribe; indeed the eastern and western groups did not know each other. There seems to be a belt between the *Kwito* and the *Longa*, where few, if any, Bushmen reside to-day. The western group are almost sedentary and do not know the country far north and south of their homes; the eastern group seem still to move their quarters for the different seasons, generally ranging between two big rivers but visiting beyond them, hence they know more of the outlying members of their tribe.

The whole country in which we found them is a sandy region in which low hills alternate with broad swampy river-beds. The latter are covered with grass and reeds, the former with magnificent forests, where large trees and low bush are both to be found. This forest

is called *!o* by the Bushmen. It is a very fertile country with no lack of rainfall. There is eternal summer by day, but in winter the nights are bitterly cold, owing to the elevation.

### MODE OF LIFE

The Bushmen always dwell in the forest near a valley but not in the valley; in most cases their little encampments are close to the villages of the Bantu tribes. They do not seem to have much to do with the water, neither making nor owning boats, nor doing any extensive fishing, though little boys will sometimes go out with a line and hook and get a few small fish.

They have no gardens and only the western group have domestic animals, fowls, dogs, pigs, and a goat.

In contradistinction to the southern *!kū* the women and children are not collectors of wild food. Once or twice a year, when certain berries ripen, the whole tribe goes out berry picking; otherwise they live by hunting and bartering part of the meat and skins obtained for the agricultural produce of their neighbours, millet, mealies, sweet potatoes, beans, manioc, not to mention tobacco, dagga, castor oil.

### BARTER

Besides these foodstuffs, Bushmen also purchase pots and baskets and in most cases also metal wares such as knives, arrow and spear-heads and beads from the Bantu. As they only have meat, skins, honey and beeswax to exchange for all these goods, I think service must often be added. The women carry their own water from the river and gather wood in the forest; I suspect that they also supply some for masters nearby, who pay them in food, as I know was done in one case. The fact that the Bushman huts are about as far from the Bantu villages as the native locations are from European settlements bears out this supposition.

### SERVITUDE

The *Mbunda* and *Luchazi* are accused by the Bushmen of stealing their children and making slaves of them. The Missionaries tell me they often see such youngsters in the villages they visit, and hear from their masters that the parents have sold them for food in times of scarcity. This the Bushmen emphatically deny and are very bitter on the subject. Sometimes the boys return to their own people as men, but not always: they seem to grow up as members of their master's family in many cases, and the girls marry relations thereof. The Bantu tribes in this region are very little more advanced in civilisation than the Bushmen, which makes such absorption easy.

### NUMBERS AND GROUPING

It is difficult to estimate the number of Bushmen still living ; certainly they are few in comparison to the territory over which they are scattered. The last horde numbered 16 men and 15 women, everywhere else we found little parties of from 2 to 6 men with their wives and children. On the *Kunzumbai*, where we did not see the people themselves often, we found small groups of huts showing sleeping places for from 5 to 16 grown-ups.

The families living together are always nearly related ; in two cases the men were brothers-in-law, in the first the sister of one man was the wife of the other, in the second the wives were half-sisters. A cousin of the wives and an aunt resided with them. At another place I found a father with his second wife and small children, a grown-up son with wife and children and a grown-up daughter whose husband was temporarily absent. The next lot were uncle and nephews, then a mother and married daughter, with a nephew and step-son of the mother's. The last lot encountered, the horde on the *Mufumbo*, consisted of an old man with two sons, several grandsons both in the male and female line, a son-in-law, and nephews and great-nephews, mostly brother's descendants. He introduced himself as the "father" of them all. Chiefs are non-existent, but deference is paid to the patriarch of any small group, though his authority is very limited.

Genealogical tables show more Bushmen in the preceding generation than there are in this one. All the older people gave me the names of from 5 to 8 children of their parents, but few of these have left descendants. Lions, lightning, smallpox, fights and childstealing have diminished the ranks of the tribe. The number of living children in the present families runs from 1 to 3, so there is little likelihood of any increase in the tribe.

### DIVISION OF LABOUR

In the horde on the *Mufumbo* division of labour is beginning to show itself. The good shots among the young men go hunting, others remain at home and work at a rough forge, which they have erected in the middle of their huts, in imitation of the *Nyemba* forges in the villages nearby. One or two middle-aged men get honey and beeswax and trade them either to the *Nyemba* or to Portuguese traders at Menonge in exchange for powder and shot for the old muzzle loaders, of which I saw a couple tucked away in the roofs of the huts. The old man does nothing, the old women very little except their own cooking. The younger women fetch water, get firewood and grass for bedding, keep the huts swept out and stamp millet or mealie for food. Each family cooks for itself, but all food

is divided, whether vegetable or animal. The skin of a buck, however, remains the property of the man who has shot it, to be worn or traded away or given away as he pleases.

### MEASUREMENT AND COUNTING

In all dealings of Bushmen and Bantu tribes no money passes. I could not discover at what rate of exchange meat is bartered for meal or any other commodities. The rate of exchange must be a rough one, probably by the basketful, for the Bushmen cannot count beyond what they can add on their fingers. They have no names for weights and measures. Distance is reckoned by the time it takes to reach a place. For less than a day the sun is simply pointed to, for more they say, "one night on the way" or "two", etc.

Their numerals are "one" *!ne-e*, "two" *ts'a*, and "three" *!nwona*, rarely used. After that they hold up their fingers and say "so many", or use a Bantu word. In counting they begin with the little finger of the left hand, touching each finger in turn on the lips, then continue in the same manner from the thumb of the right hand. Nothing that they want to count exceeds ten, indeed hardly ever reaches that numeral.

### DIVISION OF TIME

Time is estimated by the moon or the seasons; in their intercourse with White people a wage, if not given daily, is demanded at the new moon. The year is roughly divided into 3 seasons: the cold dry time from about April to September, the first rains from then to about November, and the real rainy season from about December to March or April. When all three seasons are past, they say it is a year, but they do not count up the years or the months in the year. Such things are of too little importance for them to have given them names. Mothers can tell in which season their babies were born, and for 3 or 4 years they know how many seasons ago it was, after that they get confused.

No person knows his positive age, but his comparative age as regards other members of the family is always well established. The *!kū* have different designations for elder and younger brother or sister, also elder and younger cousins. Elder and younger uncles and aunts are, however, not distinguished,

### TERMS OF RELATIONSHIP

Out of a group of brothers of the father one is called "father", the others all "uncle", similarly one of the mother's sisters is called "mother" or "little mother", the rest "aunts". This one is not necessarily the eldest or the youngest: I did not succeed in eliciting the reason for this distinction, but I surmise it is a custom similar to our



making some relative godfather or godmother to a child. The relationship is reciprocal, the special uncle or aunt always says "my son" or "my daughter" to the child.

Contrary to the usual Bushman habit the *!kũ* in the eastern part of Angola have mostly two or three wives, and their fathers had the same. The stepmother is not called "mother", but either "aunt" which she often is, or by a distinctive title. Half-brothers and sisters may be addressed as elder or younger "brother" or sister", or by



another distinctive title with "big" or "little" added. This same word is added to "son" or "daughter" to denote "stepson", "step-daughter".

It is not easy to obtain complete tables of relationship. Nobody remembers further back than grandparents, in many cases even the names of some of these are unobtainable. The groups are so small, one cannot get many different degrees of relationship in any one of them; besides, my informants had a trying habit of varying their information regarding their people on different days.

Proper names are repeated in each generation. In the east the names are distinctly of Bushman origin; curiously enough they are common to both sexes. One Bantu habit has crept in here, that of calling a man "the father of so-and-so", his eldest son, and a woman the "mother of so-and-so" her eldest daughter. Thus we found *Gole*, a boy, and *Gole-ba*, his father; *Beita*, a little girl, and *Beita-de*, her mother.

In the western group the names of all the men and most of the women were Bantu words; they were not common to both sexes.

## MARRIAGE

As mentioned above, the eastern group practices occasional polygamy; in the west monogamy is the rule, officially at least. Each man presented one wife, but during our stay some girls came over on a visit, and next time we went to the huts, we found that one man had built a hut for himself and one girl, and left his wife a separate hut. This girl was not called his wife; she was a distant cousin.

Some of the married couples we met were cousins, but the majority were unrelated, as far as they knew. Some young married people stay with the man's family, others with the woman's.

## DWELLINGS

Each married couple shares a hut with the small children; big girls have a separate hut, generally two or three together. Big boys camp in the open excepting in the rainy season, when they build themselves a hut. Contrary to Bushman habit elsewhere the men build the huts, the women only bringing grass to thatch with.

In the dry winter a screen of bushes is made instead of a hut. Leafy branches are cut down and planted in the ground, mostly in a circular or semicircular form, though oblong screens occur. Smaller boughs are laced through the main ones, forming a good protection against the wind. The screen is about 5 ft high, the diameter about the same. The openings of three or four screens do not all face one way, but generally towards each other.

In spring, when the first rains are expected, new huts are built, either near the old ones or in totally different quarters. These are made of longer branches planted in the ground with the tops bent over and tied in the middle. After the smaller branches have been laced across them, the whole is thatched with grass. The door openings are from 2 to 4 ft high.

## EQUIPMENT

Oblongs of grass mark the sleeping places, which have slender logs of wood framing them at the top and the side next the fire. In several encampments we saw some sleeping places without huts or screens to shelter them, evidently these belonged to the youths. At night a fire is kept up, in every hut or shelter, or between every two lairs outside, a bigger fire for cooking is maintained during the day, or part of it, outside the huts, and is sometimes common to several huts. Every household has a clay pot, some calabashes and a basket or two, either standing on the ground, or else stuck into a tree, or on to the roof. A wooden mortar is to be found knocking about most encampments, a large clumsy article, which is evidently left behind during short absences.

### CLEANLINESS

The space between and around the huts is kept reasonably clean, bones and rubbish are thrown into the bush at a distance. The forest near a Bushman encampment is much sweeter and cleaner than that round a Bantu village in these parts,

As to personal cleanliness, Bushmen neither wash themselves nor their clothes—which are chiefly skins—nor do they clean their teeth. They occasionally rub their faces and limbs with fat or castor oil, and use aromatic herbs as powder. Yet they have very little odour, not nearly as much as their Bantu neighbours, who use far more water.

### HAIRDRESSING

The *!kū* shave their heads from time to time, either partially or wholly; this is done to get rid of insects. Otherwise the hair is not much dressed. A few women unroll the tight curls of the “peppercorns”, mix them with fat and draw them out to tassels about 5 inches long. Few hair ornaments are worn in Angola, and these mostly beads or buttons of European make. Beards are only found among old men, and are not dressed.

### DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

The dress of both sexes consists of a leather belt with either two skins hanging from it, one in front and one behind, or one skin drawn between the legs and fastened back and front to the belt. Those who cannot get skins wear a bit of borkcloth, such as the *Mbunda* and *Luchazi* make, in a similar manner. The upper part of the body is mostly unclothed, but a couple of women at *Kunzumbia*, and one or two girls on the *Mufumbu* had small skin karosses slung across their shoulders. Other covering is rare, save where European clothes are obtainable.

Ornaments are not abundant, but are much sought after; any bright European metal or glass article is stuck on or hung on. Besides beads, a ball, cartridge cases, a bell or safety pins—all come in handy. Of ornaments made by themselves I only saw necklaces of nuts and berries, or bangles of leather.

Two Bushmen of the *Kunzumbia* lot had their noses pierced in order to put ornaments through the septum; the girl had flowers stuck through, the young man nothing. Most of the Angola *!kū* have their ear rims pierced; they have no regular earlobe. The holes are big, a stick is often stuck through, in order to keep them open. Ornaments worn in them are mostly tied to a bit of sinew which is threaded through the hole. Safety pins are merely clasped through.

One or two young boys had their front teeth filed off so as to make a triangular opening ; this was copied from the *Mbunda*, and had been done by one of them.

### CICATRIZATION AND TATTOOING

About three quarters of the *!kū* men and youths in Angola have a vertical cut about 1-2 cm long between the eyebrows, such as is found among all men and big boys of the *||kau ||en* and *!kū* of the S. W. Protectorate, and on the older youths from north of Ngami. It is called the *|gi*, and is given to boys at the initiation rites, called the *|gi* dance. This cut does not leave a black or coloured scar ; the man who makes it, rubs in bitter herbs to keep the flesh from growing together as it heals, so that a dent in the flesh remains the same colour as the rest. This mark is evidently connected with hunting. the boys do not undergo the rite until they have shot a certain number of bucks, and the cut is said to bring good luck in shooting.



Among the southern *|kū* it is only made by a medicine man at the time of the initiation rites, and so it is said to be done among some of the Angola Bushmen ; others said they had been cut by their fathers in boyhood, they had not attended a *|gi* dance. Others again had no cuts. Both these facts point to a falling off from old Bushman customs.

On some men I found also scars about 2 to 3 cm long scattered about on the arms or chest. These they called "meat" marks. After shooting a buck some old man of the family is presented with a good bit, of which he burns a small portion, cuts the hunter and rubs the



blackened meat into the wound. The result is a slightly darkened flat scar, which is said to bring luck.

A couple of youths had dark scars on the face, of which I obtained no explanation. I think they may have been for ornament, being particularly black.

Women are often tattooed at the time of their initiation. Either their father or a medicine man makes a number of parallel cuts in the face or upper arms or thighs, rubs in charcoal and lets the places heal, leaving flat lines rather darker than the rest of the skin. If both sides are cut, the work is done on different days, to allow one side to heal first. These scars are merely called *t/o* "a mark", and I am certain that they are partly for ornament, although their being done at the time of initiation points to some religious significance as well.

I saw two women who had been tattooed by their husbands at the time of marriage. One had a black line running from one cheekbone to the other across the forehead, the other had short lines running from the bottom of the hair towards the nose all round the upper part of the face, but stopping short at the cheekbones and eyebrows.

### PAINTING.

The *|kū* of these parts do not paint or smear themselves very much. I have seen a little red ochre rubbed on for a dance. White wood ash is dabbed on for ceremonies. A woman, who said she was a medicine woman, showed me how she and her co-workers spotted their breasts with the ash in this pattern:



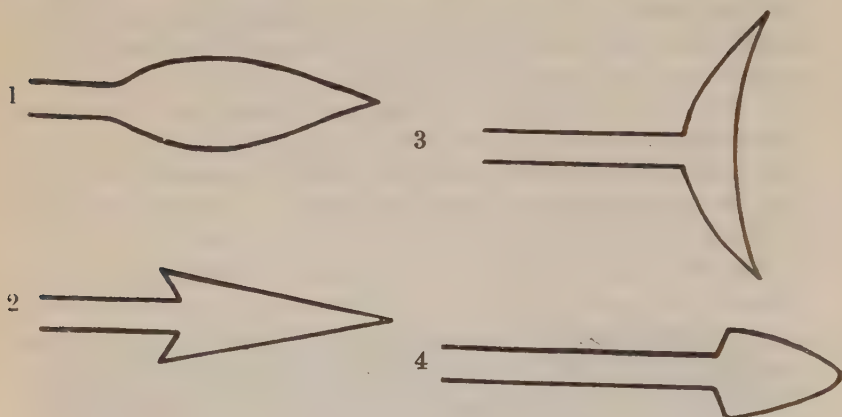
### WEAPONS

The weapons used for hunting and for warfare are the same, bow and arrows, knobkerries, sometimes a spear or an old gun when obtainable. The Bantu tribes of this region use exactly the same.

The bows are plain, of hard wood about 1.5 m long, some 2.5 cm in diameter at the grip, tapering off towards the horns. The string

is made of rolled buck sinew tied roughly at both ends, the bit over twisted towards the centre. Some bows have bits of buckskin fastened round the limbs, trophies of animals slain by the owner.

The arrows are cut out of very hard wood 1 cm thick and 50 to 60 cm long, feathered, with iron heads. These differ in shape according to the buck to be shot.



No. 1 is used for duiker and small buck,

No. 2 is used for palla and medium sized buck,

No. 3 for wildebeest and other big buck, or else

No. 4 which has poison on its shank.

All the shanks end in tangs inserted into a hollow in the shaft which is bound with sinew to avoid splitting. The butt of the shaft is notched about 5 mm deep for the bowstring, then bound with sinew. Four bits of feather about 6 cm long are attached to the arrow, the quills, from which half the plumage has been stripped, being tied with sinew straight along the four sides of the shaft. When poison is used, it is prepared from plant juice, put on in a gummy state and it dries to a hard black substance.

All the arrows are kept in a leather quiver, a long bag slung over the left shoulder by a leather string.

The knobkerrie is a stick about 75 cm long with a knob at the end; generally a natural knob is chosen and the stick pared away below it. The lower end is slightly pointed to serve for digging. This weapon is sometimes thrown at small bucks and hares, but is more often used to knock them down with when cornered. It is also used in fighting.

A knife is carried by every Bushman, partly as a weapon with which to despatch game that has been knocked down or run down, partly as an implement for cutting up meat and paring sticks. I



have not heard of them stabbing each other with knives. In general the knife is short, a bare blade 6 to 8 cm long with a wooden handle 12 to 13 cm long. The blade is fixed in a slit of the handle which is bound round with a bit of flat iron. The shape of the blade is almost three cornered, the cutting edge being on the flat side. Both sides of the point are sharpened a little. The handle often has a hole for string, but the knife is usually carried stuck through the belt, with the bare point slanting up and back.

On the *Mufumbu* the Bushmen also use knives with double edged blades 20 to 30 cm in length fixed into nicely carved hilts, which make an ornamental whole with sheaths to match. The hilts are about 10 cm long with a sloping grip and flattened knob, through which the tang of the blade is visible. At the most slender part of the grip the tang is riveted through the hilt, which is there bound round by a metal band. The sheath is some 3 cm longer than the blade, running down to a crosspiece cut out of the same bit of wood and pierced opposite the point of the blade. On the outer side the wood of the hilt is cut away to show the blade, on the inner at the top is an

excrecence cut from the same piece of wood with a hole through which a leather thong is passed to attach the knife to the girdle.

Spears are not much used. The few spearheads I saw were larger editions of arrowheads 1 and 2 with much longer shanks. The shafts were thickest at the front, tapering to a point behind.

The few guns are all old looking muzzleloaders. Powder and shot are purchased with beeswax, for which Portuguese traders pay well.

### METALWORK

In the east all knives, spear-heads and arrow-heads are made by the Bantu tribes and bought by the Bushmen, but on the *Mufombu* they have a forge of their own and make at least half their metal weapons themselves, their work being only distinguishable from that of the neighbouring *Nyemba* by its greater roughness. Their forge is an exact replica of those seen in many Bantu villages. A circular roof of bush and grass rests on a few poles planted in the ground. Under this a brisk fire is kept going by means of bellows made of two pots connected to tubes ending at the flame. The pots are covered with skins, which the blower strikes alternately with sticks. Close to the fire is a flat stone on which the smith hammers the metal into shape with another stone. A third person sharpens the blade or point on a whetstone. The metal is obtained from Bantu tribes who understand the art of smelting the iron ore found in Angola.

### HUNTING AND TRAPPING

I was unable to see any hunting, though I have several times seen the men starting off with their bows and arrows for a day's shooting, and so much game was offered us for sale that they must have been successful.

The numerous traps for game seen all along the valleys are said to be the work of the Bantu, but the Bushmen own to doing a little trapping. They bend a tree down, fasten it in position with one end of a rope, the other end of which is led round a circle of sticks in a dip in the ground, then looped over a catch in the middle. This little enclosure, which is always in a buckrun, is covered with leaves or grass. If a buck steps on it, he releases the catch, the pull of the bent tree draws the loop tight round his leg and he is unable to get away.

Tiny traps of similar construction are put in the runs of wild birds, baited with seeds they particularly like.

### NARCOTICS

All bushmen smoke tobacco and dagga (hemp) when they are able to buy them from the Bantu villages, where these plants are



much grown. Otherwise they use the leaves of one or two wild trees. Hookahs are made of calabashes, the neck being used as mouth-piece, while a hollow stick is inserted in the side of the bowl with a reel-like wooden top on which burning charcoal and the leaves of the plant are laid. The calabash is filled with water, through which the smoke is inhaled. Sometimes a wooden ring is fastened to the bottom of the calabash, to act as a stand. The hookah is always handed round and only a couple of whiffs are taken by each person. Dagga inhaled in moderation in this manner does not seem to have ill effects on the smokers, who are of both sexes.

No stimulating drinks are made by Bushmen, though they are very partial to any that may be given to them.

### *FIRE*

Every hut has its wood fire on the ground outside by day, in the hut by night. The outer fire is kept alive all day, the hot coals being covered by ashes when not used. Men out hunting carry firesticks in the quiver, a hard, pointed one, generally an old arrowshaft, and a thicker one of soft wood. In the latter they make an incision, lay the stick on the ground, hold it in position with knee or foot, put in the point of the hard stick and twirl this between the palms of their hands till sparks come. A handful of dry grass or leaves is in readiness to catch the spark.

### *COOKING*

The methods of cooking food most in use are : baking in the ashes for roots and tubers, roasting on a stick or flat stone for meat, and boiling in pots for beans, meal or meat. They use small clay pots made by the Bantu. Wooden spoons or sticks are used for stirring. Each family cooks and eats by itself at the fire.

### *ATTITUDES*

All sit on the ground sometimes with their knees up, or more often with the legs under them, the feet to one side. At night they lie on one side with the knees drawn up towards the breast. In standing and walking the stomach is thrown forward, the backbone curving in.

### *DANCING AND MUSIC*

This attitude is exaggerated in dancing by the men, who are the real performers. In the dance I saw, the women and girls stood in a group on one side singing and clapping, the men were in an irregular group on the other side, singing too, but not clapping. They held their hands out forwards and sideways, and wriggled their whole

bodies, moving a few steps forwards from time to time. At first they did not form a line or circle, afterwards they formed a sort of half-circle, but did not move round. Only the manner of wriggling seemed to matter.



This is very different from Bushmen dances that I have seen elsewhere, when stamping round in a circle was the chief feature, sometimes accompanied by imitation of animals or gestures of courtship

The song accompanying this dance of the *!kũ* was a repetition of the following three lines :

||*nwa-se* ||*kabama* ||*gu a i-i*,  
 ||*nwa-se tatana* ||*gu a i-i*,  
 ||*nwa-se tala u* ||*gu a i-i*.

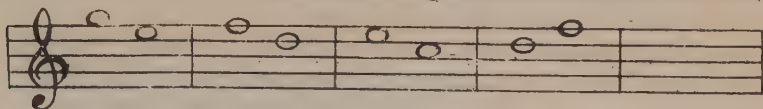
“New Moon, come out, give water to us,

“New Moon, thunder down water for us,

“New Moon, shake down water for us.”

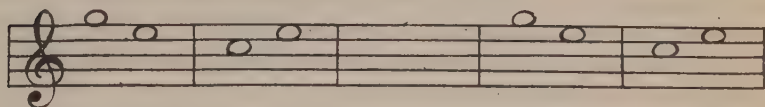
The tune to which this was sung reminded me of Bushman dance songs heard in other parts ; no two individuals started on the same note or used the same intervals, but all went down and up together.

The following indicates roughly in European intervals the rise and fall of the tune; the voices of the singers were both shrill and harsh.



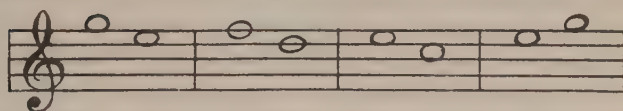
also  $\parallel$ nwa-se  $\parallel$ kabama  $\parallel$ gu a i- i,  
 $\parallel$ nwi-ma  $\parallel$ kabama  $\parallel$ gu a i- i.

They also sang :



$\parallel$ nwi-ma e e and  $\parallel$ nwi-ma kalunga  
 New Moon it is. New Moon, raingiver.

also



!kū de wa lusi- ma.  
 A woman is Lusi- ma.

These last songs are not dance songs, but are sung to the accompaniment of a bow. This is not a special musical instrument, but the singer's own hunting bow with the string pulled in and tied back at about a third of its length. The player sits on the ground, the bow held by the left hand at the tied bit against a calabash resting on his bare chest, the lower end of the bow held between his right toes. In the right hand he holds a short stick with which he taps the bowstring, producing a twanging sound. By slightly altering the position of the left hand and calabash, he can vary the note a little. The calabash is an ordinary household utensil not specially kept for playing. The performer sings as he plays; the time kept is good, the melody very slight, merely an accompaniment to the voice.

All these songs I heard at *Mufumbu*, where I saw the dancing. The few snatches of song I heard in the east were like the tunes of the southern !kū and  $\parallel$ kau  $\parallel$ en; I did not get any of the words.

### GAMES

I did not see any games save one play or practice of aiming with pretence arrows. These darts were made of very slight reeds about 40 cm long with blobs of clay at one end. These were laid across the open left hand, the blob being just free of the hand. The other

end is hit with the right hand, sending the dart flying. The players were wonderfully quick both at aiming and avoiding the missiles.

### rites of initiation

In some of the groups met with boys undergo initiation rites at some time in their teens. A number of them are taken into the forest by three medicine men, a fourth remaining at the huts. They are kept in the woods for one month, are probably taught, receive the |gi mark in their foreheads and dance at night. At this dance the spirit *Huwe* occasionally appears and dances with them, sometimes as a youth, sometimes in double form as man and woman. *Huwe* then retires without any particular demonstration.

All this agrees with the customs of the ||kau ||en of Sandfontein, except that they called *Huwe Hife*.

The girls also have initiation rites. Each girl on attaining puberty is placed in a separate hut and kept there until the New Moon is seen. During this period she is generally tattooed. A dance is held in her honour on the first nights; both sexes take part in this, but not the initiate herself. One woman told me that ||gãûa, another spirit, leads this dance and that the tattoo marks are made in his honour.

I could not discover any particular marriage ceremony. Two women had been tattooed on that occasion, others had not. Apparently the bridegroom pays for his bride in fowls, beads, skins or anything else obtainable, but whether these are presents to the bride or to her people I could not make out.

Widows and widowers generally remarry, unless very old.

### RELIGION

As the dance songs show, Moon worship is the fundamental religion of these people. The moon is the raingiver and is prayed to as such, for rain makes plants grow which feed the buck, hence it provides both vegetable and animal food. The New Moon has a particular name and is said to be either a child or a man, the Full Moon a woman. One informant said. "As a man it comes, as a woman it dies away." I think this has to do with the slender and round shapes presented. In the speech of the *Naron Bushmen*, as of the *Hottentots*, the masculine and feminine endings are given to the same roots to indicate respectively strong, tall, slender things or weak, short, round things. Thus a tall tree has the masculine ending, a round bush the feminine to the same root. So the New Moon may be called a man, because of its slenderness, the Full Moon a woman because of its round shape. Their thinking it still a woman when it dies, I take to be because they do not see it at night in the last quarter, being asleep when it rises. The Moon is also said to be the elder sister, the Sun the younger.



Besides the Moon, *Huwe* and ||*gãũa* appear as mythical persons. I was told that the name *Huwe* might be substituted for ||*nwa-se*, "little New Moon" in the dance song. Vedder says of the !*kũ* of Tsumeb in the S.W. Protectorate, that they ascribe the creation and preservation of all things to *Huwe* and call on him as "father" to give them food, when the wild onions are ripening. The !*kũ* boys from Lake Ngami only mentioned him once, saying, "*Huwe* made things to eat", and "*Huwe* is a person". From his appearing at the boys' initiation rites, which certainly have much to do with hunting, and from his general likeness to *Hi/e*, the protector of the game among Naron and ||*kau* ||*en*, I should say *Huwe* is the spirit of the bush or of the growth of the trees and grasses on which the game feeds, and thus the protector of the game and the giver of good and bad luck to the hunter. In some points he resembles |*kaggən*, the Mantis, of |*kham* Bushman mythology who is said to have made certain bucks and to protect them, but |*kaggən* is not worshipped. I did not find any worship of *Huwe* save the substitution of his name for that of the Moon. As water is needed to make the green things grow, so the giver of water and the protector of woods may easily be confused. *Huwe* is also said to appear to people in dreams.

||*gãũa* is another being mentioned by the !*kũ*. The youths from Lake Ngami gave the word three meanings "dream, ghost, spirit". They did not tell much about him in the latter capacity. Among the Angola Bushmen the word is sometimes used as ghost, sometimes more impersonally. One woman said: "When a person dies, there rises from the grave the ghost—||*gãũa*—which can be seen by medicine men." She gave herself out as a medicine woman and said she and her co-workers could conjure up ||*gãũa* by dancing and singing. In what form he appeared, and whether she looked on the apparition as the spirit of the departed, or as some other spirit, she did not say. Another woman's death was described in these words: "She died, became a ghost, people saw the ghost, it went away and stayed in the bush."

Thunder and lightning are ascribed to ||*gãũa*. They say: "||*gãũa* thunders." When anyone is struck by lightning, a frequent occurrence, the death is related in the words: "||*gãũa* took him or her." Two aunts of my informant who had been killed by lightning were said to sit in the sky as stars. All stars are called ||*gãũa*'s fires, they do not seem to have separate names for any of them.

||*gãũa* is said to lead the people at the girl's initiation dance, and she is tattooed for him. I was told: "Bushmen are ||*gãũa*'s children,

||*gãũa* is the father, people are the children. ||*gãũa* is a man, is in the forest, arises, from the forest comes in and sits. People do not pray to ||*gãũa*. When the Mbunda are in the forest, ||*gãũa* is not there. ||*gãũa*'s home is a hole in the earth; I have seen it far off."

Another informant said: ||*gãũa* is Njambi," which is the Mbunda word for deity, used by the missionaries for God. The same man said: "We sing to the sun and the stars as well as the moon, but not to ||*gãũa*."

Among the ||*kau* ||*en* and *Naron* the word ||*gãũa* was often used as "ghost", but if the wind howled that was ||*gãũa*. He was said to be a great "captain" the younger brother of *Hi/e* and *Huwe*, the latter being known to them as the "captain" of the people in the north.

No Bushman I have spoken to ascribed to either ||*gãũa* or to *Huwe* any characteristics which might be called "good" or "bad", although many Bushmen of the S. W. Protectorate are in touch with Hottentots who have been taught by the missionaries to use the former name for the Devil. I think both these beings are personifications of natural powers, that may be either beneficent or the reverse, *Huwe* being the forest, or the growth of the forest, ||*gãũa* the wind and the storm. The breath of a person being akin to the wind, his spirit would have the like name. Why ||*gãũa* presides at the women's dance is not clear, unless he is also the life-giving spirit.

### FETISH STICKS

In every little Bushman encampment I saw, there were forked sticks planted upright in the ground near the huts or sleeping places. These were called "*bulu*", the Bantu word for fetish stick in this part of the world. On these all implements for the chase are hung or laid, and the sticks are smeared with blood from any animal killed "to bring luck". A prayer is addressed to the sticks, a corruption of Bantu words. The whole thing is copied from the neighbouring villages, where fetich sticks of every sort abound.

### MEDICINE MEN

There seem to be two kinds of medicine men, *!num k?au*, who officiate at initiation rites, do the tattooing, see ghosts etc., and *t/c k?au*, who heal the sick by singing, dancing, and extracting the evil from the patient's body by smelling or snoring it out. Apparently both men and women can become sorcerors of either kind, if taught by an older practitioner. There is no ceremony of initiation for them, nor do they wear a special dress of any kind.

## ART

I do not mention art particularly in this description of the Angola Bushmen, for such art as they practise is merely a copy of Bantu work in decorating implements, skins etc. There is no possibility of rock-painting in a country that is all sand, without rocks to paint on.

## LANGUAGE

As stated in the beginning, the language of the Angola Bushmen is much the same as that of the other tribes calling themselves *!kū*. One peculiarity I noted in the west, the young people, especially the youths, are beginning to drop clicks at the beginning of many words, where the elders still employ them. Thus "tree" becomes *gāū* instead of *!gāū*, "hair" *k?wi* for *!k?wi*, "person" *kū*, for *!kū*, "hand" *gau* for *||gau*, "foot" *k?e* for *|k?e* and so on. These young people speak the Nyemba language as well as their own and interlard their conversation with Nyemba words.

## CONCLUSION

As may be seen from the above, the Bushmen of central Angola are steadily adopting more and more Bantu customs, and mixing more with the black race in every generation. In the west, where the Bantu population is much greater, this process has advanced farther than in the less populous east. Still even here one sees the influence at every turn. The more permanent homes, the use of garden produce for food, the practical state of servitude this entails, distinguish these *!kū* from all others. That polygamy, fetish worship, and Bantu modes of dancing should also creep in is natural. The language too is affected, and the race becoming more and more mixed. I fancy another half century will see the end of their existence as a separate tribe.

This is the more certain as they will soon have to compete not only with black tribes but with white men, For the country is absolutely a paradise for the first energetic European race that takes up its abode there. We saw grand forests, fertile valleys, fine streams in a very fair climate three to four thousand feet above sea level. The missionaries' gardens show how productive the soil is. This whole inner region of Central Angola is very sparsely populated, as any country must be in which the Bushmen can exist. White men are beginning to come in and realise what the place is like. It will not be long before some active nation takes possession. Their coming will probably hasten the end of the Bushman tribes, which is already in sight.

I owe a deep debt of gratitude to the members of the South African General Mission for much hospitality, help and advice, without which our expedition could never have been carried out.





# AN OUTLINE OF ILA PHONETICS

by CLEMENT M. DOKE, M.A., D. LITT.

Senior Lecturer, Department of Bantu Studies, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

## INTRODUCTORY

The following brief survey of Ila Phonetics was made in July 1927, during a special research trip to Northern Rhodesia <sup>(1)</sup>. The investigations were carried out at Kasenga Mission Station <sup>(2)</sup>, on the Kafue River, 100 miles north of Choma Railway Station, and in the heart of the country of the Baila. The language situation in this and the adjoining areas, inhabited by the Tonga peoples to the South and East, and by the Lenje people to the North-east, is peculiarly interesting and difficult. The three languages are somewhat closely related, and there is a movement afoot by missionaries concerned for their coordination and unification, in order that united literary work may be carried out, and an increased output result from the pooling of resources. I am by no means sanguine of the result of this experiment. It is very doubtful whether the attempt of the Native teachers of the Transvaal to centralize Pedi and Chwana will meet with much success, but they have the great advantage of being natives desirous of shaping their own language.

However this may be, before a serious attempt can be made, each of the languages should be carefully analysed in the following three respects, (1) Phonetics, (2) Grammatical Structure, (3) Vocabulary. It is with a view to a correct understanding of the Phonetics of Ila that I have undertaken this research, and also in order to add yet another language to my phonetic survey of the North Rhodesian languages, of which I have already analysed Lamba <sup>(3)</sup> and Bemba <sup>(4)</sup>.

The Ila language has been well presented to the public by the Rev. E. W. Smith in his "Handbook of the Ila Language", 1907, and in the second volume of the "Ila speaking peoples of Northern Rhode-

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<sup>(1)</sup> Made possible by a grant, through the Bantu Studies Department of the University of the Witwatersrand, from the funds provided for African Native Studies by the government of the Union of South Africa.

<sup>(2)</sup> Valuable help was given in these investigations by the Rev. J. W. Price, who is undertaking a scientific grammar of the language, and Dr. H. S. Gerrard, who for some time has been compiling an Ila Dictionary.

<sup>(3)</sup> See my article in "Bantu Studies," Vol. III No. 1 pp. 5-47.

<sup>(4)</sup> See my article in collaboration with Father Barnes (to be published).

sia" (Smith and Dale), 1920. No attempt, however, has hitherto been made to analyse carefully the phonetic structure.

The Baila have a peculiar custom of knocking out the six upper front-teeth of both boys and girls when they reach the age of about 10. It was anticipated that this custom would be found to have a serious effect upon their pronunciation, but an examination of both adults and fully-teethed children reveals that there is no essential difference in their speech. There are no sounds in their language which are attempts at dentals. The first introduction of the custom of knocking out teeth (*kuvanga*) most probably did alter pronunciation considerably, but the imitativeness of the children is such that, should the custom be dropped (and there are indications that this is beginning), I am convinced that the present pronunciation would persist. It would be wise therefore for Europeans and foreign Natives, using the language, to attempt to copy the present Ila pronunciation as closely as possible. There is very little that cannot be copied, and the excuse of the teeth cannot be put forward as a real one.

According to the computation of Rev. E. W. Smith, the true Baila numbered about 25,000 in 1907; and there are large numbers of Ila speaking peoples, in addition, including the Basala, Bambala, Balumbu, etc. Ila may be described as a monosyllabic-noun-prefix language belonging to the Central Bantu group.

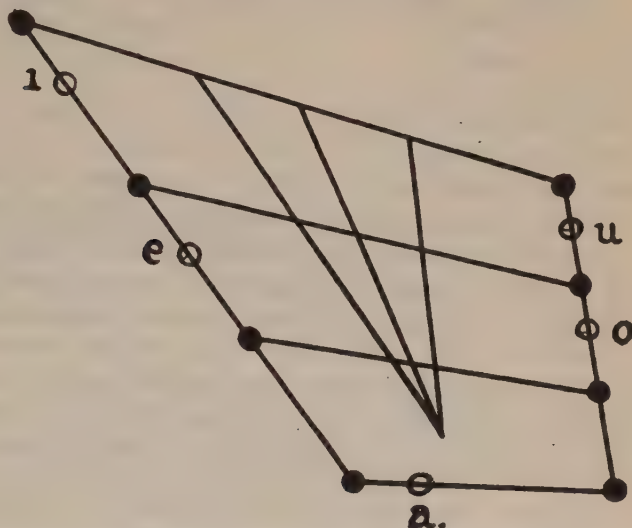
My language informants were mainly the following:—

- (1) *Namwene*, village of *Mwezwa*, Namwala Dist., age about 25 years. He had spent a year at Bulawayo, when 15, and two years at Salisbury, when aged 17-18 years. Seemed to speak typical true Ila.
- (2) *Cilekwe*, village of *Masonde*, Kasenga, aged 35 to 40 years. He had visited Wankie for a short time as a lad, but may be considered as uninfluenced.
- (3) *Jempefa*, village of *Masonde*, Kasenga, age about 40 years. Uninfluenced.
- (4) *Mwanga*, boy of about 12, with full denture, but found unreliable owing to school influence with *Rotse* teachers, and discarded.
- (5) *Kanjefe*, little girl of about 8 years, from *Mala*: (said that her teeth would be knocked out in 1929).
- (6) *Munakasamu*, little boy of about 9 years, from *Kavulamwanda* dist. of *Cinda*: (said that his teeth would be knocked out in 1928).

## (A) VOWELS.

§ 1.—There are five significant vowels in Ila. As a rule these are pure oral vowels, but they may each be nasalised before unvoiced fricatives, such nasalisation being due to the dropping of a nasal consonant, which would appear before explosives and usually before voiced fricatives.

## § 2.—Chart of Oral Vowels :



Ila shares with Tonga of the middle Zambesi, that of the Batoka Plateau, Twa of the middle Kafue and Lundwe, the phenomenon of a five vowel system, the only remarkable features of which, in the case of Ila, are the extremely forward position of the open vowel, and the occurrence of a nasalised form of each of these vowels in certain circumstances.

§ 3.—*The Vowels in detail:*

There is no exaggeration either of tongue position or lip position in the pronunciation of the vowels, and each may be pronounced long or short without alteration of quality.

- 1 (high forward vowel) normally high in tongue position, but considerably lower than Cardinal No. 1

Tense.



Lips spread but fairly wide apart.

*Examples:*

i: zina (name)

cintu (thing)

● (mid forward vowel) tongue position practically mid-way between Cardinals Nos. 2 and 3, if anything slightly nearer to No. 3; acoustically this seems almost to coincide with No. 3 when occurring before *l* or *ʃ*. Tense. No. 2 Symbol used throughout.



Lips spread, but distance from end to end of opening not so great as in the case of *i*.

*mé:ɲi* (water)  
*kúveteka* (to judge)  
*kwizeulu* (above)  
*ufesu* (our father)  
*utulé:kelele* (forgive us)

**a** (low vowel) tongue position very considerably nearer to Cardinal No. 4 than to No. 5, in fact the position is almost that of the French No. 4. The front position of this vowel is markedly a feature of Ila speech, even more so than of Tonga, and it differentiates Ila sharply from such Bantu languages as Zulu, Bemba, Lamba, and Swahili. English speakers, however, must be warned against employing the English vowel in "hat" when imitating this sound. The vowel is tense, though to the unpractised ear it may at times be taken to resemble the English vowel in "sum". Care must be taken to avoid using that English vowel. The Symbol **a** is used to represent this throughout.



Lips decidedly spread, but more open than for *e*.

*Examples:*

*kuma:ta* (to smear)  
*máhuta* (fat)

● (mid back vowel) tongue position midway between Cardinals Nos. 6 and 7. Tense. Symbol for No. 7 used.



Rounded with lips considerably everted; opening considerably larger than that for *u*.

*Examples:*

*vóŋgo* (brain)  
*imbóŋgolo* (donkey)  
*ɪnsoce* (grass-seed)  
*mó:mbe* (calf)  
*kuvola* (to rot)



u (high back vowel) normal in tongue-position, not nearly so high as Cardinal No. 8. Tense.



Lips fully pursed and everted, vowel being fully rounded.

*Examples:*

*muntu* (person)

*likuni* (fire-wood)

§ 4.—There are no diphthongs in Ila, and foreigners must beware of diphthongising any of the vowels. Juxtaposed vowels are found: each of these comprises a separate syllable, e.g. *ingaina* (be equal) *i:i* (egg), *mai* (eggs). At times a semi-vowel is heard intervocalically, e.g. *kú/ijá* (to leave behind), *i:jí*<sup>(1)</sup> (egg), *awə* (there).

Careful distinction must be made between a long vowel and double vowels, the latter having two pulsations and comprising two syllables.

§ 5.—Homorganic nasals occur before explosives and voiced fricatives, but when such would be expected before unvoiced fricatives, the preceding vowel becomes nasalised. This may also take place as an alternative pronunciation before fricatives.

*Examples:*

*wā:íja* (he left me)

*mēsə* (eyes)

*wā:huna* (he loved me)

*iswi* (fish)

*uá:pzanina* or *wā:zanina* (he danced to me)

*wāhuna* or *wā:huna* (he delivered me)

§ 6.—*Devocalization or elision of final i.*

With some speakers there was a tendency to devocalise or completely elide the final *i* after *t* or *ʃ*, as in Lamba<sup>(2)</sup>; but this does not seem to be a constant feature in Ila.

*ati* or *atʰ* (when the aspiration of the *t* is more noticeable)

*ɪŋkáʃ* (oar).

<sup>(1)</sup> It is most probable that this is the correct pronunciation, for should the stem commence in a vowel, the prefix of this class of nouns would naturally be *pʰi-*, e.g. *pʰino* (tooth), stem *-ino*.

<sup>(2)</sup> See "A Study in Lamba Phonetics" § 12, in "Bantu Studies" Vol. III No. 1

## (B) CONSONANTS.

§ 7.—*Chart of Emitted Consonants:*

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Labio-glottal
Rad.				<i>k</i>	
EXPLOS. $\frac{1}{2}$ Asp.	<i>p<sup>h</sup></i>	<i>t<sup>h</sup></i>	<i>c<sup>h</sup></i>		
Voi.	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>g</i>	
NASAL	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ɲ</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	<i>ɸ</i>
LATERAL		<i>l</i>			
FLAP. LAT.		<i>ɾ</i>			
Unv.		<i>s</i>	<i>ʃ</i>		<i>h</i>
FRICATIVE					
Voi.	<i>v</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>ʒ</i>		<i>ɦ</i>
SEMI-VOWEL			<i>j</i>	<i>w</i>	

§ 8.—*General Observations upon the Ila Consonantal System.*

Whilst the Ila Consonantal system is, to a great extent, typically Bantu, it has one feature which is typically “Ila-speaking”, a feature shared with Twa of the Kafue and Lundwe of Mbeza. As all these peoples indulge in the custom of knocking out the six upper central teeth, I cannot but feel that it is this custom which has given to Ila and its cognates the special peculiarities they share. I am equally convinced that the dropping of the custom of teeth extraction will not result in any serious modification of the present phonetic peculiarities, because the fully-teethed children copy the true Ila sounds. These typically Ila sounds are the “labio-glottal” fricatives and nasal, which take the place of the “denti-labials” in Bantu languages comparatively akin as are Tonga, Lenje and to a less extent Lamba. Twa and Lundwe, as will be seen in the tables appended, have, in addition a palato-glottal fricative, and I have noticed a tendency towards the use of this with some Ila speakers.

Quite apart from the above distinction between the Ila type and the Tonga type, phonetically, a distinction probably due in the first instance to the knocking out of the teeth<sup>(1)</sup>, there are other *most important* distinctions.

(1) The Tonga of the Valley and as a whole those of the Plateau do not knock out the teeth, though those around Monze and northward therefrom do knock out some teeth, and mixed peoples towards Mbeza have strong Ila influence,

Firstly Tonga, whether the Zambesi dialect or that of the Batoka Plateau, uses prepalatal affricates where Ila uses palatal explosives. The very fact of the Tonga use of the affricates at all, a form of enunciation unknown to Ila, constitutes a grave distinction.

Then secondly, in the Tonga dialects, the voiced explosives, *d* and *g*, and the voiced affricate *dʒ* may be used apart from any homorganic nasal, whereas in Ila *d*, *g* and *j*, the corresponding sounds, are only found as *nd*, *ŋg* and *nj*.

These considerations seem to me to point to the fact that, from the phonetic point of view, we have two distinct series, the Ila-speaking peoples and the Tonga-speaking peoples.

Ila has an antipathy to using *s* or *z* with the vowel *i*; the tendency is for these consonants to give place to *ʃ* and *ʒ* when an *i* would synthetically follow, though there appears to be a certain looseness in this regard with some speakers. Lamba similarly cannot use *s* before *i*, but employs *ʃ*. Tonga, on the other hand, regularly uses *si* and *zi*.

The interchange of *b* and *v* in Ila is much the same as in Tonga, and markedly distinct from that in Lamba, where *b* only occurs in the compounds *mb* and *bw*.

The use of the full set of nasals homorganically and otherwise in Ila is typically Bantu, and the employment of the flapped lateral is typical of many Central Bantu languages.

There can be no doubt that in any study of Comparative Bantu Phonetics, Ila will play an important part. The psychological and physiological reasons why Zulu *fika* should appear as *ʃika*, while Zulu *funa* appears as *huna* will need considerable research to discover. In all probability they are bound up with the form of the vowels following, but what again is behind that? Only a careful lexicographical and grammatical analysis along strict lines will give the data for such comparison.

§ 9.—*The Explosives*: Ila employs four types of explosive consonants, bilabial, alveolar, palatal, and velar, each having an unvoiced and a voiced form, the latter, with the rare exception of *b*, only being used in conjunction with the homorganic nasal. The bilabial unvoiced explosive is the most fully aspirated of them all, the velar explosive, on the other hand, being practically devoid of all aspiration. In transcriptions and examples, I am not marking the aspiration at all. The prefixing of homorganic nasals to the unvoiced forms does not affect the aspiration in any way.

§ 10.—*The Bilabial Explosives:*

The unvoiced explosive closely resembles its equivalent in English. If anything the aspiration is, with some speakers, a little stronger. In a close transcription this would be indicated by  $p^h$ , but in the present analysis I consider  $p$  a sufficient symbol. In Ila  $p$  occurs before vowels and the semi-vowels  $j$  and  $w$ , as well as after its homorganic nasal,  $m$ .

$p$	<i>pāmpula</i>	(dish up)
$pj$	<i>pjepjɔŋgana</i>	(be in tumult)
$pw$	<i>kupwa</i>	(to toss)
$mp$	<i>kupampa</i>	(to decapitate)
$mpj$	<i>kulampja</i>	(to lengthen)
$mpw$	<i>pampwila</i>	(dish up for)

The voiced explosive occurs in conjunction with the homorganic nasal. Usually, when there is no nasal, the voiced fricative is used, but in Ila when this is initial, provided there is deliberate or emphatic enunciation,  $b$  may occur; this is often the case with verb imperatives.  $b$ , however, can never occur medially, i.e. following a vowel belonging to the same word.

$b$	<i>beɔq</i>	(commonly <i>veɔq</i> , repent)
	<i>bavq</i>	(itch, but <i>kuvavq</i> , to itch)
$mb$	<i>cambq</i>	(chest)
	<i>valambalq</i>	(they go past me, vb. <i>valq</i> , pass by)
$mbw$	<i>jumbwa</i>	(lion)

§ 11.—*The Alveolar Explosives:*

In general the tongue tip is placed flush upon the retarded gums. It must be remembered that with the knocking out of the front teeth, roots and all, the gums healing over are considerably retarded from the position they occupy when the teeth are there. The sinking of the upper lip is a natural sequence to the lack of upper front teeth.

In the case of the unvoiced alveolar explosives, there is slight aspiration. I noticed that this aspiration was practically lacking in the pronunciation of *Mwayga*, who had his full denture but shewed too much school and foreign influence. *Mwayga*, I also noticed, placed his tongue in true alveolar position.

$t$  occurs in Ila before vowels and the semi-vowels  $w$  and  $j$ , also in conjunction with  $n$ .

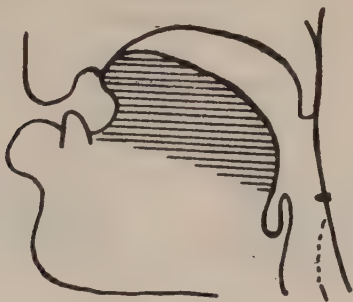
$t$	<i>tatq</i>	(my father)
	<i>citq</i>	(do)
	<i>catetema</i>	(it creaks)
	<i>tumq</i>	(send)



<i>tw</i>	<i>twika</i>	(help up a load)
<i>tj</i>	<i>tjambuka</i>	(be bent backwards)
	<i>tjaŋkatjaŋka</i>	(chew a little)
<i>nt</i>	<i>tiŋtimaŋa</i>	(be breast deep in water)

In Ila the voiced alveolar explosive is only found following the homorganic nasal, *n*. In present Ila orthography, *d* is used before the vowel *i* and the semi-vowel *j*: but this is a mistaken interpretation of the flapped lateral, (q.v.).

<i>nd</i>	<i>enda</i>	(travel)
	<i>bikando</i>	(big)
<i>ndw</i>	<i>zandwa</i>	(be wanted)
<i>ndj</i>	<i>wandja</i>	(he eats me)



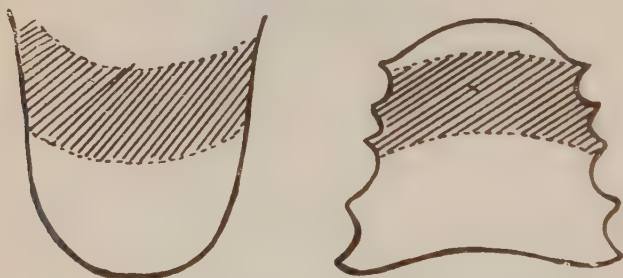
Ila *t* and *d*.

## § 12.—The Palatal Explosives:

In the use of palatal explosives, Ila is distinct from the Tonga dialects, which employ in their place prepalatal affricates. In this Ila is more akin to Lamba to the north. The English sounds in "church" and "judge" are affricates much like the Tonga, that is they are made up of an explosive sound followed by a fricative formed with the same position of the organs of speech, the explosive being a type of *t* or *d* formed with the front (not tip) of the tongue and the division of hard palate and gum ridge. The Ila palatal explosive, however, is a simple consonant, formed with the centre to back of the tongue (a little more forward than that for *k* and *g*) brought forward to touch the hard palate. The tip of the tongue is usually kept down behind the lower front teeth, and is never raised to touch the gum-ridge. Following is the tongue-position diagram for Ila *c* and *j*:

Ila *c* and *j*.

In Ila *c* is usually pronounced with very slight aspiration. In the case of one native, by powdering his tongue with chalk powder, I managed to record to some extent a palatograph. He used a fairly far back position of the tongue, with the tongue-tip well down behind the lower front teeth. The position affected was very far forward on the palate, being palatal to prepalatal.

Rough Palatograph of *ca* by Namwene.

With these explosives, as with all palatal sounds, there is an accompanying *j*-glide which is inseparable from the complete pronunciation. It is unnecessary to indicate this glide by any separate symbol. To the inexperienced ear, the unvoiced explosive is often mistaken for the *t*/ in English "church", and at other times for *k*. There is a certain interrelation between *c* and *k*, examples of which will be given in the next paragraph. The nasal homorganic to *c* is *ɲ*.

<i>c</i>	<i>civjavɨ</i>	(evil)
	<i>cinɨ cinɨ</i>	(really)
	<i>cetɔ</i>	(choose)
	<i>cokolɔ</i>	(stamp grain)
	<i>cu:lu</i>	(ant-heap)
<i>ɲc</i>	<i>cɨɲcɨlɔ</i>	(be importunate)

The voiced explosive, *g*, is not used in Ila apart from the homorganic nasal *n*. The inter-relation of *nj* with *ng* will be noticed in the next paragraph.

<i>nj</i>	<i>njekɔ</i>	(let me go there)
	<i>ɪnjilɔ</i>	(enter)
	<i>nanja</i>	(lechwe)

§ 13.—*The Velar Explosives*: Pronounced as in English with back of tongue raised to touch the soft palate. In Ila the unvoiced form is practically devoid of aspiration, and may be considered radical. When morphologically either of the vowels *i* or *e* would follow *k*, the velar gives place to the palatal explosive. The homorganic nasal *ŋ* may occur before *k*.

<i>k</i>	<i>kāŋgaʃikoswɛ</i>	(mouse)
	<i>kukalɔ</i>	(to sit)
	<i>koʃjɔ</i>	(yonder)
<i>kw</i>	<i>kwatɔ</i>	(grasp)
	<i>kwelɔ</i>	(pull)
<i>ŋk</i>	<i>wakənka</i>	(he begins)

Since *k*, in Ila, cannot precede *i* or *e*, when this would morphologically be expected *c*, is substituted for *k*. Such occurrences are found in certain verb perfect and dependent mood formations. — Examples:

*cintu kacɪʃicɪle* (the thing did arrive, vb. *ʃikɔ*)  
*mapɪʔi əkavɪʃicɛ* (that the hills may appear, vb. *bubikɔ*)

The voiced velar explosive, *g*, is only found in conjunction with its homorganic nasal, as *ng*.

<i>ng</i>	<i>ɪŋgu:vɪ</i>	(mist)
	<i>ɪŋgaina</i>	(be equal)
<i>ng</i>	<i>māŋŋŋwe</i>	(mat-making grass)

Like *k*, *ng* does not occur before either of the vowels *i* or *e*, but *nj* is found in such cases.

*kāvalanɟilɪle* (they did look, vb. *lanɟa*)  
*ndākavanɟɪla* (I bound the wattles, vb. *bāɟɪla*, *banɟa*)  
*mutunɟe* (that you may thread, vb. *tunɟa*)

#### § 14.—*The Nasal Consonants in Ila*:

There are, in Ila, nasal consonants corresponding to each of the organic positions used in the language, viz. bilabial, alveolar, palatal, velar and labio-glottal. The first four occur directly before vowels as well as homorganically before explosives and certain fricatives, while the fifth occurs before vowels or the semi-vowel *w* only, being substituted for the voiced fricative, when that comes under nasal influence.

The nasal combinations are as follows :

<i>m.</i>	<i>mp,</i>	<i>mb,</i>	<i>mw,</i>	<i>mj.</i>
<i>n.</i>	<i>nt,</i>	<i>nd,</i>	<i>nz,</i>	<i>nw.</i>
<i>ɲ.</i>	<i>ɲc,</i>	<i>ɲj,</i>	<i>ɲz.</i>	
<i>ŋ.</i>	<i>ŋk,</i>	<i>ŋg,</i>	<i>ŋw.</i>	
<i>ɸ.</i>	<i>ɸw.</i>			

Before unvoiced fricatives, *s*, *f* and *h*, homorganic nasals are not used in Ila, the preceding vowel in each case being nasalised.

§ 15.—*The Bilabial Nasal*: Pronounced as *m* in English, and used

(a) before vowels e.g.

*umé* (I, me)                      *mumimbi* (in grass ash)

(b) before semi-vowels, e.g.

*wamwitɔ* (he calls him)

*mjɔŋgɔ* (have colic pains)

(c) homorganically before *p* and *b*, and changing the voiced fricative *v* into *b*, e.g.

*mpa* (give me)

*ʃumbuxɔ* (lion)

*valɔmbala* (they go past me)

§ 16.—*The Alveolar Nasal*: Acoustically the same as *n* in English, and used

(a) before vowels, e.g.

*cinj cinj* (really)      *ndo:nano* (I sleep here)

(b) before the velar semi-vowel

*kunuxɔ* (to drink)

(c) homorganically before *t*, *d* and *z*, and changing *l* and *ʃ* into *d*, e.g.

*kutenta* (to scald)

*ndazanda* (I want)

*enzelɔ* (pray)

*valɔndetela* (they bring for me, vb. *letelɔ*)

*valɔndiʃila* (they weep for me, vb. *ʃiʃila*)

Before the unvoiced fricative *s*, the vowel becomes nasalised and no nasal consonant is used.

*valɔsɛmpula* (they carry me, vb. *sɛmpula*)

§ 17.—*The Palatal Nasal*: This consonant is very similar to that used in French in such a word as *rep* (regne) or in Italian, in such a word as *kampɔna* (campagna). The tongue position in Ila is as for *c* and *j* (§ 12), but the velum is lowered opening the passage to the nose. There is always present the slight glide sound which is an integral part of all palatals. In Ila *ɲ* is used



- (a) before vowels, e.g.

*iɲemɥ* (nut)

*ɲimbɛ* (let me sing)

- (b) as homorganic nasal before *c*, *j* and *ʒ*, e.g.

*valāɲcɪŋ* (they throw me down, vb. *cɪŋ*)

*valāɲjaɗ* (they kill me, vb. *jaɗ*)

*uāɲzanina* (he dances for me, vb. *zaninɔ*)

Before the unvoiced fricative *f*, the vowel becomes nasalised, and no nasal consonant is used.

*valā<sup>i</sup>/ija* (they leave me behind, vb. */ija*)

§ 18.—*The Velar Nasal*: Pronounced as *ŋ* in the Southern English pronunciation of *singing*. This consonant is used in Ila

- (a) before vowels, e.g.

*iŋandɔ* (house)

*iŋombe* (cattle)

*valāŋompololɔ* (they call me)

- (b) homorganically before *k* and *g*, e.g.

*valāŋkakɔ* (they refuse me, vb. *kakɔ*)

*valāŋguʃa* (they throw me down, vb. *uʃa*)

- (c) before the semi-vowel, *w*, e.g.

*luŋwalɔ* (letter)

Care must be taken to distinguish between *ŋ* and *ɲ* in Ila, for instance:—

*maŋgɔ* (kindness)

*maɲa* (cracks)

§ 19.—*The Labio-glottal Nasal*: This is perhaps better described as a nasalised form of the voiced labio-glottal fricative. When nasal influence is exerted on the unvoiced fricative *h*, it is shewn in the nasalisation of the preceding vowel, e.g. *wāhunɔ* (he loves me, vb. *hunɔ*); but when this influence is exerted on the voiced fricative *ɦ*, the latter becomes nasalised, e.g. *wāɦunɔ* (he delivers me, vb. *ɦunɔ*) or as an alternative the preceding vowel is nasalised, e.g. *w<sup>a</sup>ɦunɔ*. For a description of the formation of the labio-glottal fricatives see § 25. Notice orthographic *chingvuhle* is *cifule*.

§ 20.—*The Lateral Consonants in Ila*: As Bemba, Lamba, Tonga and many other Central Bantu languages, Ila has two forms of lateral consonants, one of which is the commonly-found *l*, differing in no significant way from the "clear-*l*" of Southern English. The other, however, has, in all of these languages, led to considerable confusion and orthographic difficulty. To the untrained ear, under certain circumstances, this appears to be *l*, under others *r*, and under others *d*. It is, however, quite distinct in formation from all three

of those sounds. An analysis of the sounds with kymograph and palatograph work in Bemba results as follows:

"*ɸ* is not a continuant, but is enunciated with a single flap of the tongue. Contact positions are much as for *l*, but naturally there is more tension. In its production the sides of the tongue are raised to touch the palate all along the upper side teeth. The forward part of the tongue blade (not the tip) flaps against the alveolus almost to the base of the upper front teeth, while the air escapes over the front and slightly forward laterally."

The difference between *l* and *ɸ* is largely one of degree in release of the tongue-tip, and both belong to the same phoneme.

I term this consonant "the flapped lateral". In some of these languages there is considerable overlapping in application of *l* and *ɸ*, but in Ila the uses are fairly clear cut. *ɸ* occurs before *i* and *j*, while *l* is found before every other vowel and *w*.

<i>l</i>	<i>walala</i> (he sleeps)
	<i>ɸilele</i> <sup>(1)</sup> (he is asleep)
	<i>wasalulula</i> (he chooses)
	<i>kulondolola</i> (to speak at great length)
	<i>kupelelele</i> (to sweep thoroughly)
<i>lw</i>	<i>lwalq</i> (claw)
	<i>lwendo</i> (journey)
<i>ɸ</i>	<i>watɸiɸi:la</i> (he went for good)
	<i>muɸilo</i> (fire)
<i>ɸj</i>	<i>kuɸja</i> (to eat)

#### § 21.—*The Fricative Consonants in Ila:*

Ila is richer than many Bantu languages in fricative consonants, and the voiced and unvoiced sounds are fairly well balanced. It is in the fricatives that the Ila group of languages has its distinctive sounds. The voiced palatal and the two labio-glottal fricatives are an outstanding feature of this group.

§ 22.—*The Bilabial Fricative:* This sound, sometimes called "bilabial-*v*" or "fricative-*b*", is common to a great number of Central Bantu languages. It has not hitherto been generally recognised in Ila, and has been recorded as *b*. As has been already observed in § 10, when initial and emphatic or when preceded by *m*, *v* becomes the explosive *b*. When medial, however, and commonly when initial the bilabial fricative is used in Ila. This sound is formed by the lips being closely enough together to cause vibration as the voiced sound passes through. The teeth would play no part in the produc-

(1) I have also heard *ɸiɸeɸe*, though it is not usual.

tion of this sound, even if the Baila had them. and the lips do not meet to make a complete stoppage. *v* in Ila occurs before vowels and the semi-vowels *j* and *w*.

<i>v</i>	<i>vovile</i> (two)
	<i>vuvĩ</i> (evil)
	<i>vutjõ</i> (merely)
	<i>kũrona</i> ( to see)
<i>vj</i>	<i>civjavĩ</i> (badly)
<i>vw</i>	<i>vwatp</i> (boat)

§ 23.—*The Alveolar Fricatives*\* In pronouncing *s* and *z*, the adult *Mwila* uses a forward tongue position, and the air is made to hiss against the inside of the depressed upper lip, giving the sound a local modification. There is otherwise nothing of special note in the pronunciation, and it is likely that this modification would be eliminated in a fully-toothed adult. The use of *i* and *j* after *s* and *z* seems foreign to true Ila, though in some cases the influence of Tonga and Rotse is noticed with certain natives,

<i>s</i>	<i>sākula</i> (shave)
	<i>kusesa</i> (to go in search of a wife)
	<i>kusõsa</i> (to sprout)
<i>sw</i>	<i>kusueza</i> (to cleanse)
<i>z</i>	<i>kuzaka</i> (to build)
	<i>kuzenzela</i> (to become loose)
	<i>kuzuza</i> (to fill)

When morphologically an *i* should follow *s* or *z*, these alveolar fricatives give place to the palatal fricatives *j* and *ʒ*<sup>(1)</sup>.

	<i>ápikũfile</i> (they withered, vb. <i>kusa</i> )
	<i>vápĩpĩfile</i> (they wrung out, vb. <i>pisa</i> )
	<i>vápĩsáfĩle</i> (they sewed, vb. <i>sasa</i> )
but	<i>vápĩpĩsele</i> (they plaited, vb. <i>pesa</i> )
	<i>upĩáɲzĩle</i> (you opened up, vb. <i>anza</i> )
	<i>upĩzĩle</i> (he has come, vb. <i>iza</i> )

§ 24.—*The Palatal Fricatives*: Ila has two fricatives, the unvoiced form being practically identical with the sound used in Lamba<sup>(2)</sup>. They are palatalised forms of *f* and *ʒ*, but I use no special symbol to indicate them in Ila. The narrowing between tongue and palate is further back than for the prepalatal position of the regular *f* and *ʒ*, causing the characteristic *j*-glide to accompany the fricat-

(1) Not in the case of *fanambe* from Mala.

(2) See "A Study in Lamba Phonetics" § 30, in "Bantu Studies", Vol. III No. 1.

ives. The tongue-position is much the same as for  $\varphi$ , but the tongue shape is different. In the case of  $\varphi$  the central portion of the tongue is raised towards the palate, while in the case of  $f$  the sides of the tongue are raised while the centre is troughed.

$f$	<i>langa</i> (sow)
	<i>leſo</i> (those)
	<i>vāsimwina</i> (they told me)
$ʒ$	<i>zoka</i> (return)
	<i>zula</i> (be full)
	<i>zana</i> (dance)
	<i>vānzanina</i> (they danced to me)
	<i>uzandanzi</i> (what do you want?)

In Twa and Lundwe and with certain Ila speakers the palato-glottal nasal, for which I use the symbol  $ɲʒ$ , is substituted for the nasal compound  $nʒ$ , e.g. *uzandanɲi*, in which case the succeeding vowel is really nasalised.

§ 25.—*The Labio-glottal Fricatives:* These sounds, which have hitherto been written  $f$  (sometimes  $h$ ) and  $vh$ , are modified glottal fricatives. The air passes through the throat with considerable friction and is modified by being thrown against the toothless ridge and the inside of the upper lip causing concomitant friction there. The tongue is meanwhile kept in the velar vowel position as for  $u$  and these fricatives, therefore, inherently possess a  $u$ -glide, which is noticeable when they are used with any vowel other than  $u$ . The unvoiced variety is really a type of velarised  $h$  with concomitant lip friction, and to signify this I use the simple symbol  $h$ . The voiced variety is really velarised voiced- $h$  with concomitant lip friction such as produces  $v$ , and to signify this I use the symbol  $ɦ$ . In addition the present-day adult *Mwila* slightly modifies the sound as the air passes the toothless gum-ridge and strikes the sunken lip. Little children with teeth copy their elders very closely in enunciating these sounds.

At times, however, I have heard simple  $h$  and  $ɦ$  used by some speakers, but when pressed to repeat they usually gave the sounds their full labio-glottal value.

$h$	<i>wahq</i> (you are done for)
	<i>wāhu:q</i> (you are well to do)
	<i>wāhuvq</i> (you are rich)
	<i>ndahunq</i> (I love)
$ɦ$	<i>wahɦ</i> (he comes out)
	<i>ɦunta</i> (throb)
	<i>njohɦ</i> (help me)



§ 26.—*The Semi-vowels in Ila*: There is nothing special to notice about the two Ila semi-vowels, *j* and *w*: they are pronounced as their English equivalents, with tongue positions much as for *i* and *u*.

(i) Palatal Semi-vowel, *j*:

*ulapija* (you burn)

*vuŋjo* (merely)

*je:zi* (this)

(ii) Velar Semi-vowel, *w*:

*wamwita* (he calls him)

*ŋumbuq* (lion)

*wakwe* (his)

### (C) DURETICS

§ 27.—Vowel length is a feature of Ila phonetics to which attention should be paid, for at times it may be the significant factor differentiating words phonetically alike but differing in meaning. There are, in Ila, two vowel lengths, the short vowel and the long vowel; the latter appears to be about twice the length of the former in duration.

<i>kuvola</i>	(to rot)	<i>kuvo:la</i>	(to return to village, of cattle)
<i>maŋga</i>	(kindness)	<i>ma:ŋga</i>	(twins)
<i>valq</i>	(carry)	<i>va:lq</i>	(pass by)

In some cases change of vowel length is accompanied by change of tone as with *maŋga* above.

Vowel length is also significant in distinguishing certain past from present tenses, e.g.

*wāhuna* (he loves me)      *wā:huna* (he loved me)

When emphasising words it is a common custom, noticed especially in the district of *Mala*<sup>(1)</sup>, to lengthen the final syllable. This process is applied to sense groups, in which case the final syllable of the last word is lengthened. Notice:

*wakaŋka:* (he begins)

*maŋŋŋwe:* (mat-making grass)

This species of final lengthening is at times accompanied by a secondary stress, making the penultimate and ultimate syllables each stressed, e.g. *wakāŋkà:*

It must be noticed however that there is still *but one main stress* on the word.

(<sup>1</sup>) My principal informant from this district was a young man of about 22 named *Janambe*.

## (D) DYNAMICS

§ 28. The question of stress in Ila presents considerable difficulty. As has been observed in the previous paragraph, in emphasis and repetition for clearness, the phenomenon of two adjacent stressed syllables in one word has been noticed.

Apart from this, however, the main stress in Ila *normally* falls on the penultimate syllable. When this is the case I have left the stress unmarked; but there are numerous cases of ultimate main stress, e.g.

*i:jí* (egg)                      *mají* (eggs)

*võsé* (all of them)

With many words, especially trisyllabic words, a raised tone on the first syllable gives an impression of stress. The first syllable, however, is not stressed, e.g. *máhúta* (fat). Again, in many cases, the tone on the final syllable of the word is either raised or kept at the same pitch as the preceding syllable; this, with a certain "snap-piness" of enunciation, gives the impression of stress on the final syllable, e.g. *má:ŋga* (twins). With some speakers, especially one from *Mala*, there was a certain amount of final stress as well as the penultimate stress.

## (E) TONE

§ 29.—In ordinary Ila speech there is no very great modulation of the voice. From the point of view of normal grammatical phonetics, three tones are used, high level (*á*), mid-level (*a*) and low level (*ǎ*). Gliding tones are observed in onomatopoeic speech. It will be seen from the text in § 31 that the tones are practically levelled out in sentences, though I am by no means satisfied that the tones are all recorded in the text: lack of a phonograph for recording made it almost impossible to get them down in continuous speech. There are numerous cases, in which tone is significant in Ila, and the following examples are suggestive:

<i>kúfíjǎ</i>	(to leave behind)	<i>kufíja</i>	(to be dark)
<i>íŋanda</i>	(nouse)	<i>íŋanda</i>	(forked pole)
<i>cítǎ</i>	(do)	<i>cítá</i>	(I don't know)
<i>vvelǎ</i>	(return)	<i>vvela</i>	(fish)
<i>lélǎ</i>	(reach up to)	<i>lélá</i>	(feed)
<i>valǎ</i>	(carry)	<i>valá</i>	(read)

There are cases in which one word without any change of meaning may be used with either one or other of two series of tones, e.g.

<i>pǎmpula</i>	}	(dish up)
<i>pampulǎ</i>		
<i>pjepjongǎna</i>	}	(be in tumult)
<i>pjepjongana</i>		

## (F) WORD-DIVISION

§ 30.---Although Ila belongs to that type of Bantu languages which uses monosyllabic noun prefixes, the principles of word-division, which have been found to apply in the cases of such dissyllabic noun-prefix languages as Zulu, Bemba and Lamba, apply equally to Ila. Employing a youth who could read I went carefully through the story on page 7 of the second Ila reading Book, *Ihuka dia Sulwe o Beenzhina*. The reader when reading the disjunctive "words", invariably *had to* go back to pronounce the complete word. He read the whole piece through without varying from the true Bantu rule of word division, under which all concords are but particles inseparable from the root word, whether these concords be adjectival, relative, possessive or verbal, and under which the hitherto-termed prepositions are but formatives building up adverbs, etc. The safest guide for anyone recording native texts is to listen to the native's pronunciation; but there is a law underlying this. *Every word contains one and only one main stress.*

The principle of disjunctive word-division strikes at the very root of Bantu, and it has given rise to a species of imitative grammar which in no way expresses the Bantu genius. On the other hand the fully conjunctive method has its evil in long unreadable word-groups which often cannot be treated grammatically. This is especially the case with dissyllabic noun-prefix languages where each noun and many other parts of speech commence in vowels, which become juxtaposed in the sentence to the final vowels of other words causing coalescence or elision. In Ila, however, such occurrences are comparatively rare and it is unnecessary here to treat of the subjects of "elision" and "coalescence." Nevertheless it is wise, even in Ila, to write in words and never in word-groups. Hence when the welding of words is arbitrary, being dependent only upon quick speech, it is wise to write them separately, leaving the welding to be done automatically by the quick reader. Thus *ati* after such words as *amba*, etc. should be written as a separate word.

In Ila there are, at least, two series of words which hitherto have been written together, but which in reality should be separated. They are reduplications, but it will be noticed that the concords, as well as the stems are reduplicated. The roots are *-ini -ini* and *-nji -nji*, e.g.

*ndihile cini cini inzala* (I am indeed in deadly hunger)  
*cita vovo kapji kapji* (do that again and again)

(G) ILA TEXT <sup>(1)</sup>

§ 31. *sulwe wamwita /umbwa atri, aci/a, amuka zime kotja, ime nda-  
ja mululu motja. a/ice, waja kujjila, wo:mpolola /umbwa atri, u:we  
/umbwa tentá koko mutilo, uziygulu/é vo:ɓja lulu lóse, ime ndo:nanɔ  
(ndo:na anɔ). i/umbwa watenta mutilo, mutilo wazaka. u/ice vutjo  
aha:hi. sulwe wɛɛjila umbwina. lulu lóse lwapi:ja. kangasulwe mbu-  
kaké:jjila umbwina. lumane kupi:ja lulu kafia áseggwe kangasulwe.  
kadlavana mumimbi kaja kule:za /umbwa, atri, torwene imimbi je:zi.  
u/umbwa:tri (u/umbwa atri) amé mpa musamu ndukuja.*

*wámucelela matofu wamupa. wálulanga lulu lukando oluti vurzu  
vurji vurji, waja kona /umbwa momo mukati kalulu. sulwe wá:zi-  
ygulu/ia mutilo umáva:tri. umwéze /umbwa aha:hi mutilo wafila.*

*sulwe wá:ygula atri, utóɓila mutilo we:zo ulapi:ja. mutilo wafika  
ahq:hi. u/umbwa wakaɲka kupi:ja mulefu wakwe. oɓimwi wafika mu-  
tilo amuvuti voza vwa:we vwaɲka kupi:ja. ɓimwi wapi:ja cini cini,  
wahq. ahé vovo kangasulwe kalukaɲka ka:mba:tri (ka:mba atri), nda-  
muceɲga mwa:lu waggw. kaka/ice kotja kaja kukala.*

## (H) ORTHOGRAPHY

§ 32.—In conclusion of this analysis, the following suggestions are made for the improvement of the present Ila orthography :

(i) The employment of the conjunctive method of writing as outlined in § 30.

(ii) The abolition of capitals.

(iii) No change in the symbols for the five vowels, but the employment of a mark (such as :) to distinguish length.

(iv) The introduction of the following special symbols for special sounds :

- (a) *n*, for *ny* before vowels ; *n* may be used before palatal consonants, e.g. *ne*, *nj* and *nɜ*.
- (b) *ɲ*, for *ng'* before vowels ; *n* may be used before velar consonants, e.g. *nk* and *ng*.
- (c) *ʃ*, for *sh* (which should have been written *shy* before vowels other than *i*).
- (d) *ʒ*, for *zh* (which similarly should have been written *zhy*).
- (e) *h<sup>(2)</sup>*, for *fw* (or *hw*) or *f* before *u*.
- (f) *h<sup>(3)</sup>*, for *vhw* (or *hw*) or *v* or *vh* before *u*.
- (g) *c*, for *ch* (= *chy*)

<sup>(1)</sup> This is a transcription of the story given on page 7 of *Ibuka dia Sulwe o Beenzhina*.

<sup>(2)</sup> An alternative suggestion is the use of *f*.

<sup>(3)</sup> An alternative suggestion is the use of *v*.



(v) The writing / instead of *s* before *i*

„ „ ʒ „ z „ i

„ „ nʝ „ ng „ i

(vi) The substitution of *l* for *d* except when *d* is preceded by *n*, on the understanding that, in *li* and *ly*, the *l* is flapped lateral and not to be pronounced as an ordinary *l*.

(vii) The use of *b* as heretofore, on the understanding that always when medial, usually when initial even, (but never when following *m*), the *b* is not explosive but fricative.

(viii) The marking of nasalised vowels before fricatives by the tildé, e.g. *wāhuna*, *mulāhu*, *bōsé*, etc. (<sup>1</sup>).

(ix) The marking of stress when it is not penultimate.

(x) The marking of tone in record, translational and scientific work when it is significant.

§ 33.—*Chart of Ila Consonants according to suggested Orthography.*

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Labio-Glottal
Unv. EXPLOSIVE	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>k</i>	
Voi.	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>g</i>	
NASAL	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ɲ</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	
LATERAL		<i>l</i>			
FLAP. LAT.		( <i>l</i> )			
Unv. FRICATIVE		<i>s</i>	<i>ʃ</i>		<i>h</i>
Voi.	( <i>b</i> )	<i>z</i>	<i>ʒ</i>		<i>ɦ</i>
SEMI-VOWEL			<i>y</i>	<i>w</i>	

## APPENDIX I

### TWA OF THE KAFUE RIVER SWAMPS.

§ 1.—Commencing some 30 miles down the River Kafue from Kasenga, there is a considerable swamp region inhabited by a people called by the Baila "*Batua*". It is not established yet whether these people are a colony of the Batwa who live in the great Lukanga Swamp region to the north-west of Broken Hill. It seems that they understand and talk the Ila language, but brief investigations

(<sup>1</sup>) Alternatively *n* after the vowel could be used to indicate this e.g. *wanhunu*, *mulanhū*, *bōnsé*, etc.

which I was enabled to carry out with two of them have established the fact that they have a language of their own, which a *Mwila* would understand with difficulty. These people have so come under Ila influence that they knock out the six upper front teeth, wear the *impumbe* and use the long spears of the Baila.

My informants were two men, *Kalembu* of *Kavulungwe*, a youth of about 20, and *Jahuevahweva* of *Ilokombwe* (75 miles from *Mazavuka*), an old man of about 70. I collected a vocabulary of about 250 words; these words shewed a closer affinity to Ila than to any other language. Of the words which definitely differed from Ila, a fair proportion were akin to Lenje, and almost as many to Tonga; a few words shewed connection with Lamba and Subiya; and for a few no parallels could be found. It was evident that both the men were very strongly influenced by Ila, but there are evidences that the real *Twa* language differs more than dialectically therefrom. Further research in the swamp region itself, and a collection of grammatical data are urgently necessary.

In the realm of phonetics, from the material at my disposal, I found *Twa* to belong to the Ila group rather than the Tonga, though the phonetic analysis given hereunder cannot be taken as final, on account of the rather unsatisfactory material at my disposal.

§ 2.—*The Vowels in Twa:*

Five vowels are used, as in the other Tonga-Ila types, viz. *i*, *e*, *a*, *o*, *u*. The only feature noticeable being that *a* is not quite so far forward as in Ila proper. This I noticed also with Lundwe (See Appendix II.)

§ 3.—*Chart of Twa Consonants:*

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Labio-gl.	Palato-gl.
Rad.			<i>c</i>	<i>k</i>		
EXPLOS. $\frac{1}{2}$ Asp.	<i>p<sup>h</sup></i>	<i>t<sup>h</sup></i>				
Voi.	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>g</i>		
NASAL	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ɲ</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	<i>ɱ</i>	<i>ɲʝ</i>
LATERAL		<i>l</i>				
FLAP. LAT.		<i>ɸ</i>				
Unv.		<i>s</i>	<i>ʃ</i>		<i>h</i>	
FRICATIVE						
Voi.	<i>v</i>	<i>z</i>			<i>ɦ</i>	<i>ʝ</i>
SEMI-VOWEL			<i>j</i>	<i>w</i>		

§ 4.—*Observations on the Consonants:*

The inter-relationship of *b* and *v* is the same as is found in Ila and Tonga, *v* being generally used unless initial and emphatic or preceded by *m*.

The voiced explosives, *d*, *j* and *g*, like Tonga, but unlike Ila and Lundwe, are found initially in syllables, apart from any nasal precedence, e.g.

*tuxʰisikidi* (we arrived)

*kujaja* (to kill)

*gande* (frog)

The employment of palatal explosives by these people shews resemblance to Ila, and constitutes a marked distinction from Tonga.

The use of labio-glottal consonants affords another mark of resemblance to Ila. These sounds, found also in Lundwe, are foreign to Tonga. The Batwa whom I examined had had the six upper front teeth knocked out according to Ila custom, and informed me that all the Kafue Batwa were the same.

The flapped lateral was more frequently used in Twa than in Ila, appearing before other vowels as well as *i*, e.g. *ukufika* (to cry), *ci-tendeke* (door).

The alveolar fricatives, *s* and *z*, were very forward, and one felt that if teeth were present they would have to be described as dental. Twa differs from Ila in using these consonants regularly before the vowel *i*, where Ila would use *f* and *z*; e.g. Twa, *ɪŋkasi* (paddle), Ila, *ɪŋkasi*. Twa, *menzi* (water), Ila, *mɛnzi*. When followed by *u* or *w*, these consonants are pronounced with the lips forward and well rounded, and the air is thrown against the inside of the lips, giving almost a labialising effect, e.g. in *inswi* (fish).

I found no *ʒ* in Twa, but its place is taken by *z*, as above, in certain instances, and generally by *ʃ*. This palato-glottal sound seems peculiar to Twa and Lundwe, though I found traces of it with some Ila speakers when under nasal influence. The tongue-position seems to be much as for Ila *ʒ*, but there is considerable voiced friction in the throat at the same time. I use the symbol *ʃ* for this, as combining the two elements, and *nʃ* for the nasalised form, which occurs when nasal influence comes upon the voiced form. Examples :

*anʃa* (outside)

*ʃana* (dance)

Twa shews evidence of *semantic length*, for instance

*ma:ŋga* (twins) and *maŋga* (kindness)

*vo:la* (come) and *vola* (rot)

*Stress* is generally on the penultimate syllable of each word, but a few instances of ultimate stress were found, e.g.

*māntu ngumut* (one person)  
*vāntu vané* (four people)  
*vābi kubí*: (where are they)?  
*munzi* (village)  
*munwé* (finger)

but notice Twa *vōnse* for Ila *vōsé*.

## APPENDIX II

### LUNDWE OF MBEZA.

§ 1. At Mbeza about midway between Choma and Kasenga are a number of villages inhabited by a people who call themselves Balundwe. Linguistically they seem to be to some extent a bridge between Ila and Tonga, but phonetically they are much closer to the Ila of Kasenga than to the Tonga of the Plateau, and together with Kafue River Twa definitely constitute one of the Ila group. The Lundwe people knock out the six upper teeth as the regular Baila. My informant was *Lobati Cibuasa*, of the village of *Mo:mba*, a man of about 40 years of age, who was sent to me by Father J. Torrend. S.J.

#### § 2.—*The Vowels of Lundwe:*

In the vowel system I found nothing to distinguish Lundwe from Tonga of the Middle Zambezi, there being the same five vowels common to both Ila and Tonga groups, but the Lundwe low vowel, *a*, is certainly not so far forward as in Ila. There are no exaggerated lip-positions with the vowels.

#### § 3.—*Chart of Lundwe Consonants:*

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Labio-gl.	Palato-gl.
Rad.			<i>e</i>			
EXPLOS. $\frac{1}{2}$ Asp.	<i>p<sup>h</sup></i>	<i>t<sup>h</sup></i>		<i>k<sup>h</sup></i>		
Voi.	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>g</i>		
NASAL	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ɲ</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	<i>ɕ</i>	<i>ɲɕ</i>
LATERAL		<i>l</i>				
FLAP. LAT.		<i>ɾ</i>				
Unv.		<i>s</i>	<i>ʃ</i>		<i>h</i>	
FRICATIVE						
Voi.	<i>v</i>	<i>z</i>			<i>ɦ</i>	<i>ʝ</i>
SEMI-VOWEL			<i>j</i>	<i>w</i>		



§ 4.—*Observations on the Consonants.*

I found that the unvoiced explosives *p*, *t*, and *k* were slightly aspirated, though the palatal *c*, seemed devoid of aspiration.

Lundwe is akin to Ila in the use of true palatal explosives, *c* and *j*, as against the Tonga use of prepalatal affricates.

The Ila peculiarity is again seen in the fact that in Lundwe *d*, *j* and *g* cannot be used apart from the homorganic nasals, *n*, *ɲ* and *ŋ*.

*b* occurs only when initial or after *m*, but *v* always occurs medially, e.g. *buka* (rise), but *kuvuka*.

*ʔ* is not entirely confined to its use before *i*, e.g. *ɲiʔa* (enter), *vʊʔo* (bed), *kuzekʔa* (to net). In this Lundwe differs from Kasenga Ila.

The labio-glottal *h*, *ɦ* and *ɦ̥* are used in Lundwe as in Ila, but Lundwe, like Twa, substitutes *β* (voiced palato-glottal fricative) for the Ila *ʒ* (see Appendix I, § 4).

*s* and *z* are pronounced with the tongue well forward as in Ila.

Before unvoiced fricatives a nasal consonant is evident. Ila nasalises the preceding vowel. but this is not usual in Lundwe.

Ila	<i>i:sa</i>	(kidney)	Lundwe	<i>i:nsá</i>
„	<i>mulāhu</i>	(long)	„	<i>mulaɦhu</i>

In Lundwe *s* occurs before *i* (unlike Ila) but not so commonly as it does in Tonga.

Ila	<i>vafisa/ile</i>	(they sewed)	Lundwe	<i>vafisasike</i>
Tonga	<i>kusika</i>	(to arrive)	Lundwe	<i>kufika</i>

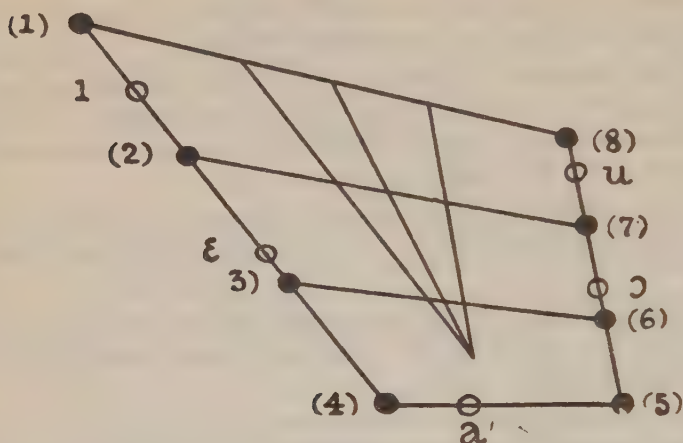
## APPENDIX III

## TONGA OF THE MIDDLE ZAMBEZI.

§ 1.—In August 1926 I was able <sup>(1)</sup> to examine the speech of a couple of youths from the Zambezi. They spoke what is commonly known as “Tonga” of the Valley, spoken by a tribe living on both sides of the Zambezi from the end of the Gorge to some distance below the confluence of the Zambezi and the Kafue. My principal informant was Joel Sikagamwa. This language is represented in the Tonga Grammar of Rev. J. R. Fell.

(1) Through the courtesy of Rev. J. R. Fell of the Clixby Training Institute, Kafue.

§ 2.—I found that a five-vowel system was used with approximate vowel positions as hereunder :



The mid-forward and mid-back vowels were noticeably low in tongue position, and the low vowel was appreciably nearer to No. 4 than to No. 5 but not so near as in Ila.

§ 3.—*Chart of Tonga Consonants:*

The following is an approximate chart of the consonants, as closely computed as was possible in the time at my disposal.

	Bilabial	Denti-lab.	Supra-den.	Pre-palat.	Velar
Rad.	$p^h$		$t$		$k$
EXPLOS. $\frac{1}{2}$ Asp.	$p$		$th$		$kh$
Voi.	$b$		$d$		$g$
NASAL	$m$	$\eta$	$n$	$\eta$	$\eta$
LATERAL			$l$		
FLAP. LAT.			$p$		
FRICATIVE	$v$	$f$ $v$	$s$ $z$		
AFFRICATIVE				$t/$ $d\zeta$	
SEMI-VOWEL				$j$	$w$

§ 4.—*Special Features of the Chart:*

The presence of affricates *tʃ* and *dʒ* and the substitution of pre-palatals, for palatals constitute the greatest divergence between Valley Tonga and Ila.

With the voiced explosives *b*, *d* and *g*, the stops were noticed to be unvoiced, and it is significant that these consonants could be used without a preceding homorganic nasal, e.g. *bukʌ* (arise), *i:gʌgʌ* (evening), *dwa:ja* (swim). *b* occurred only when initial (and not necessarily then) and when preceded by the homorganic nasal, *m* : in other circumstances *v* was used.

Radical *p* was noticed to be ejective after *m* with certain speakers.

The denti-labial nasal was used homorganically before *f* and *v*, e.g. *mulámfu* (long), *imvuvu* (hippo).

The presence of the typical flapped lateral *ɸ*, was observed, and was used mostly in the vicinity of the vowel *i*.

*s* and *z* were most noticeably dental, and to the ear appeared almost whistling fricatives when followed by *u*.

The syllables were at times very jerkily enunciated, giving the impression of more than one stress in one word. This seems to be a speech phenomenon common to the Ila-Tonga languages.

## APPENDIX IV

### TONGA OF THE PLATEAU.

I was able to examine the speech of Tiki Jeke, aged 20, (home 30 miles due south of Choma on the Plateau above the Valley), and Tom, aged 30, (home 8 miles west of Choma), and found that they both used the *tʃ* as do the natives of the Valley, that they had full denture, and used the denti-labial *v*.

The Tonga of Monze district is evidently more mixed with Ila influence.





## *SUTO (BASUTO) MEDICINES*

By J. M. WATT, M.B., Ch.B. (Edin.) and MARIE G. BRANDWIJK,  
Phil. Docta. (Utrecht), Apotheker (Utrecht). Department of  
Pharmacology, University of the Witwatersrand.

### Part II

In part I of this paper, we published records of twenty-one plants used medicinally by the Sutos. In this part records of a further thirty are given.

We are very much indebted for the material contained in this part of the paper to Miss E. E. Kruger, formerly of Morija, and now of Likhoele, Rev. Father F. Laydevant, Emmaus Mission, Thabaneng, and Mr. Stephen Pinda, Clerk in the Education Department, Mafeteng. Due to their interest and enthusiasm, we have been enabled to obtain identifiable material and to obtain fairly complete details regarding the use of the plants.

### **CYMBOPOGON MARGINATUS, Stapf.**

#### FAMILY : GRAMINEAE

Watt and Brandwijk No. 1220. South African National Herbarium No. 5943.

#### COMMON NAMES

*English*: Tambookie Grass<sup>1</sup>. *Afrikaans*: Akkewani<sup>2</sup> (in Java: Akerwangi), Motwortel<sup>2</sup> (root-stock used to protect woollen goods from moth), Kuskus.<sup>2</sup> *Suto*: Phalana tsa balimo. *Zulu*: Isiqunga, isi Qunga<sup>1</sup>.

#### GROWTH AND DISTRIBUTION

Ex Mafeteng.

#### NATIVE USES

*Suto*.—The roots are pounded, dried and powdered. This powder is used by young men as a love charm, by adding it to their bath meanwhile calling the desired woman by name. *Zulu*.—The roots are pounded and soaked in milk fresh from the cow. This milk is injected in small quantities as an enema for abdominal pains in infants. Bryant<sup>1</sup> states that an infusion, made from a handful of the roots of this plant, a handful of the roots of *Hypoxis* sp. together with a

handful each of the leaves of *Clausena inaequalis*, *Clerodendron glabrum*, *Brachylaena discolor*, *Ekebergia meyeri* and *Xanthoxylon capense*, is taken in cup-ful doses as an anthelmintic and purgative.

#### CHEMICAL COMPOSITION AND PHARMACOLOGICAL ACTION

*Anthropogon nardis* (? *Cymbopogon marginatus*) yields a volatile oil which is rich in geraniol, and is apparently used for the adulteration of Attar of Roses.<sup>3</sup>

#### REFERENCES

- (<sup>1</sup>) A. T. Bryant: Ann. Natal Museum, 1909, II, 1, 20, 90.  
 (<sup>2</sup>) R. Marloth: "The Flora of South Africa": A Dictionary of the Common names of Plants, 1917, 5, 53, 134.  
 (<sup>3</sup>) E. Boutechett: Perf. Ess. Oil Rec. II, 292, through Chem. Abs. 1912, 793.

### CYATHULA GLOBULIFERA, Moq.

#### FAMILY: AMARANTACEAE

Watt and Brandwijk No. 1237. South African National Herbarium No. 5946.

#### COMMON NAMES

*Afrikaans*: Klits<sup>1</sup>. *Suto*: Bohome, Bohome bo boholo<sup>2</sup> = the big Bohome, derived from the verb "ho homa" = to stick to.

#### GROWTH AND DISTRIBUTION

Ex Mafeteng, where it grows in caves, dongas and kloofs. Phillips<sup>2</sup> states that it grows on mountain slopes round kraals, 12 to 40 inches high: flowers whitish—summer. The plant is found also at Albany, Queenstown, Graaff Reinet, Aliwal North, Komgha, and in Pondoland, East Griqualand, Natal, Orange Free State and the Transvaal.

#### NATIVE USES

*Suto*.—A decoction is made by boiling the roots together with those of two other plants (undetermined). This decoction is apparently taken in fair quantity for the treatment of stricture (? of the urethra). Phillips<sup>2</sup> records that the roots are used as soap.

#### CHEMICAL COMPOSITION AND PHARMACOLOGICAL ACTION

No investigations are on record.

#### REFERENCES

- (<sup>1</sup>) R. Marloth: "The Flora of South Africa": A Dictionary of the Common Names of Plants, 1917, 105.  
 (<sup>2</sup>) E. P. Phillips: Ann. S. A. Museum, 1917, XVI, 1, 248.

**HELICHRYSUM LEIOPODIUM, DC.**

## FAMILY : COMPOSITAE

Watt and Brandwijk Nos. 1241, 1585. South African National Herbarium Nos. 5947 (1241). 6012 (1585).

## COMMON NAMES

*Suto* : Letapiso, Pefshoana basia, Mohlomela tsie oa thota<sup>1</sup> = he of the valley who threads the locusts, Mohlomela tsie oa thaba<sup>1</sup> = the mountainous one who threads the locusts. *Zulu* : Isidwaba-somkovu = the skin petticoat of a dwarf. *Pondo* : Icolacola.

## GROWTH AND DISTRIBUTION

Ex Mafeteng : Ex Thabaneng. At Thabaneng, it grows on hill-sides. Phillips<sup>1</sup> states that it grows on veld and plateaux, 8 to 25 inches high : bracts yellow—summer and autumn. It is found also at George, Albany, Uitenhage, Bedford, Aliwal North, Natal, Orange Free State and the Transvaal.

## NATIVE USES

*Suto*.—The stems, leaves and roots are boiled and used as a sort of poultice for swellings. A decoction of the plant is used to “fumigate” patients suffering from fevers or dreams. In order to use it for this purpose, the decoction is poured on to a very hot round stone, the patient meanwhile enveloping himself in a blanket in such a way as to trap the steam under its folds. Phillips<sup>1</sup> states that the stems are used to thread locusts together so that they can be easily roasted. He mentions also that a decoction is given to children as an enema for the treatment of colic.

*Zulu*.—The Zulus take a decoction of the root for chest complaints and they evidently also use it as an emetic. The leaves are used by infusion as a beverage. *Pondo*.—The Pondos use the leaves as a tea-like beverage.

## CHEMICAL COMPOSITION AND PHARMACOLOGICAL ACTION

Nothing is known about the chemistry or action of the plant.

## REFERENCE

(<sup>1</sup>) E. P. Phillips : Ann. S. A. Museum, 1917, XVI, 1, 128.

**CYNODON HIRSUTUS, Stent.**

## FAMILY GRAMINEAE

Watt and Brandwijk No. 1243. South African National Herbarium No. 5953.

## COMMON NAMES

*English* Dog-grass. *Suto*: Mohlou.

## GROWTH AND DISTRIBUTION

Ex Mafeteng, where it is found growing on the veld.

## NATIVE USES

*Suto*.—The leaves and roots are boiled with a paw or a portion of the skin of an ant-bear. This decoction is taken by the mouth in order to relieve the pains during confinement.

## CHEMICAL COMPOSITION AND PHARMACOLOGICAL ACTION

Nothing is known about the chemistry or action of the plant.

**ANTHOSPERMUM RIGIDUM, E. & Z.**

## FAMILY: RUBIACEAE

Watt and Brandwijk No. 1244. South African National Herbarium No. 5948.

## COMMON NAMES

*Suto*: Phakisane, Potsana<sup>1</sup> = the small fire-wood. Phakisane<sup>1</sup> = small haste.

## GROWTH AND DISTRIBUTION

Ex Mafeteng. Phillips<sup>1</sup> states that it grows on ravines and mountains slopes: flowers yellow—summer. The plant is found also in Namaqualand, Swellendam and East Griqualand.

## NATIVE USES

*Suto*.—A cold infusion of the pounded and dried stems and roots is given internally to horses for lung sickness.

## CHEMICAL COMPOSITION AND PHARMACOLOGICAL ACTION

No investigations are recorded.

## REFERENCE

(<sup>1</sup>) E. P. Phillips: Ann. S. A. Museum, 1917, XVI, I, 112.



**GAZANIA sp. near *Gazania jurineaefolia*, DC.****FAMILY : COMPOSITAE**

Watt and Brandwijk No. 1245. South African National Herbarium No. 5949.

**COMMON NAMES**

*English* Dandelion. *Suto* : Tsikitlane, Shoeshoe.

**GROWTH AND DISTRIBUTION**

Ex Mafeteng, where it grows on the plains.

**NATIVE USES**

*Suto*.—The roots are boiled with Seloni (? *Scabiosa columbaria* L.) and Seshoabohloko (undetermined). The decoction so made is taken by the mouth for urethral stricture and it is stated to cause pus to come away.

**CHEMICAL COMPOSITION AND PHARMACOLOGICAL ACTION**

The plant has not been investigated.

**MALVA PARVIFLORA. L.****FAMILY : MALVACEAE**

Watt and Brandwijk No. 1246. South African National Herbarium No. 5950.

**COMMON NAMES**

*English* : Mallow<sup>1</sup>. *Afrikaans* : Kessebelaar, Kesieblaar, Kisiblaar,<sup>2</sup> Kessieblaar<sup>3</sup>, Kaasjes<sup>4</sup>, Keesjesblaar<sup>4</sup>, Kiesieblaar<sup>4</sup>. *Suto* : Mosalasuping, Mosalasupe<sup>5</sup> = he who remain on the ruins, Qena<sup>5</sup> = give up a trip, Teka motse<sup>5</sup> = surround the village, Thiba pitsa<sup>5</sup> = stop the pot. *Xosa* : u-Nomolwana<sup>1</sup>.

**GROWTH AND DISTRIBUTION**

Ex Mafeteng, where it grows on the plains. Phillips<sup>5</sup> records that he found it growing on the veld near villages, 3 to 12 inches high : flowers pale mauve—summer and autumn. It is an introduced weed.

**NATIVE USES**

*Suto*.—The roots are boiled and taken for the treatment of profuse menstruation. Phillips<sup>5</sup> mentions that water, in which the plant has been boiled, is used as a lotion for bruised limbs. *Xosa*.—The

Xosas use a paste made from the leaves of this plant and the leaves of *Pelargonium alchemilloides*, Willd. on swollen and inflamed parts. It is said to "draw" very well<sup>1</sup>. They use also a decoction of the leaves as a lotion for wounds. *Native*.—Hewat<sup>6</sup> mentions that the Natives use mallow leaves for a similar purpose, "which soon reduces the inflammation or brings the abscess to a point".

Europeans use the leaves as a hot poultice for wounds and swellings. According to Wicht<sup>3</sup>, a tea-like infusion is taken internally as a nerve tonic.

## CHEMICAL COMPOSITION AND PHARMACOLOGICAL ACTION

According to Walsh<sup>3</sup>, the plant produces giddiness in horses when eaten in forage. If they take a good feed of the plant, it produces general tremor and almost paralyses them for a time. It is said to be very toxic to young ostriches, often proving fatal. Death appears to be due to severe intestinal irritation. Phillips<sup>7</sup> states that in Australia the plant has been proved by feeding tests to produce "staggers" in sheep.

## REFERENCES

- (<sup>1</sup>) A. Smith : A. Contribution to South African Materia Medica, 1895, 3rd edition, 74.
- (<sup>2</sup>) W. F. Wicht : S. A. Med. Rec. 1918, XVI, 308.
- (<sup>3</sup>) L. H. Walsh : South African Poisonous Plants, 1909, 25.
- (<sup>4</sup>) R. Marloth : "The Flora of South Africa" : A Dictionary of the Common Names of Plants, 1917, 118.
- (<sup>5</sup>) E. P. Phillips : Ann. S. A. Museum, 1917, XVI, 1, 43.
- (<sup>6</sup>) M. L. Hewat : Bantu Folk Lore, 86.
- (<sup>7</sup>) E. P. Phillips : Botanical Survey of South Africa, Memoir No. 9, 1926, 22

## CLEMATIS BRACHIATA, Thunb.

### FAMILY : RANUNCULACEAE

Watt and Brandwijk No. 1571. South African National Herbarium. No. 6000.

## COMMON NAMES

*English* : Traveller's Joy<sup>1, 2</sup>. *Afrikaans* : Klimop.<sup>1</sup> *Suto* : Morara, Morarana oa mafelho<sup>2</sup> = the creeper for the churning sticks. *Xosa* : iTyolo<sup>3</sup>. *Native* : iTyolo<sup>4</sup>.

## GROWTH AND DISTRIBUTION

Ex Thabaneng. It is a creeper growing commonly around Mafeteng, frequently amongst rocks. Phillips<sup>2</sup> states that it is a creeping or climbing plant, growing 3 to 9 feet high : flowers white and

sweet-scented—summer. It is found also in the Cape—Swellendam, Uitenhage, Albany, Murraysburg, Somerset East and Komgha, in East Griqualand, Natal and the Transvaal.

### NATIVE USES

*Suto*.—The root is well-boiled in water. A few drops of this decoction is mixed with some decoction of the root of *Berkheya setifera* DC. (q. v.) and administered to cases of syphilis.

*Xosa*.—According to Smith<sup>3</sup>, the stems are crushed and held under the nose and the air strongly drawn in over the material. This is used to clear the nose in colds. The crushed plant is stated to have a pungency like “smelling salts”. The plant is also used with the tubers of *Gunnera perpensa* in the treatment of “bots” in horses.

*Swazi* (?).—The plant is used with another plant (undetermined) in the treatment of syphilis. It is given internally and applied externally as a wash.

*Native*.—Hewat records that a decoction or an infusion is taken for coughs and asthma. Sometimes the smoke from burning the leaves is inhaled for similar purposes.

### CHEMICAL COMPOSITION AND PHARMACOLOGICAL ACTION

Pammel<sup>5</sup> states that the plant is a vermifuge. It quite clearly contains an irritant. This is what one would expect, as many of the *Clematis* sp. have irritant properties.

### REFERENCES

- (<sup>1</sup>) R. Marloth: The Flora of South Africa: A Dictionary of the Common Names of Plants, 1917, 106.
- (<sup>2</sup>) E. P. Phillips: Ann. S. A. Museum, 1917, XVI, I, 33.
- (<sup>3</sup>) A. Smith: A Contribution to South African Materia Medica, 1895, 3rd. Edition, 101, 161.
- (<sup>4</sup>) M. L. Hewat: Bantu Folk Lore. 64. 65.
- (<sup>5</sup>) L. H. Pammel: Manual of Poisonous Plants, 1911, 844.

## HEBENSTREITIA COMOSA, Hochst.

### FAMILY: SELAGINACEAE

Watt and Brandwijk No. 1575. South African National Herbarium No. 6022.

### COMMON NAMES

*Suto*: Lebohlollo, Tsitoane<sup>1</sup>.

## GROWTH AND DISTRIBUTION

Ex Thabaneng, where it grows about a foot high in stony ground on mountain slopes. Phillips<sup>1</sup> records that it grows on mountain slopes and plateaux, 15 to 38 inches high : flowers white and brown, sweet-scented—summer. It is found also in East Griqualand, Natal and the Transvaal.

## NATIVE USES

*Suto*.—A decoction of the roots is taken for “indigestion” and other stomach troubles. Phillips<sup>1</sup> states that the plant is mixed with fat to make a perfumed ointment.

## CHEMICAL COMPOSITION AND PHARMACOLOGICAL ACTION

The plant has not been investigated.

## REFERENCE

(<sup>1</sup>) E. P. Phillips : Ann. S. A. Museum, 1917, XVI, I, 234.

## ASTER ASPER, L.

## FAMILY : COMPOSITAE

Watt and Brandwijk No. 1577. South African Natinal Herbarium No. 6004.

## COMMON NAMES

*Suto* : Phoa. *Zulu* : uDlutshama<sup>1</sup>, *Native* : um Hlungwaan<sup>2</sup>.

## GROWTH AND DISTRIBUTION

Ex Thabaneng, where it is common, especially in valleys and on hills.

## NATIVE USES

*Suto*.—A decoction of the root is given to sick children. Mixed with *Ranunculus* sp. and alum, it is used in tertiary syphilis and for sores of various kinds. Mixed with *Elophia* sp., it is given to cases of protracted sickness.

*Zulu*.—Bryant<sup>1</sup> records that the plant is used in the treatment of stomach complaints. He states also that it is poisonous. The Zulus also use a decoction for cough in scrofula, and if this decoction is taken in large dose it produces emesis.

*Native*.—Medley Wood<sup>2</sup> states that the roots of this plant are used for snake bite and are said to be beneficial. He does not give any information regarding the tribe using the remedy.



## CHEMICAL COMPOSITION AND PHARMACOLOGICAL ACTION

*Aster asper* has not been investigated, but Juritz has examined *Aster hispidus*, Bak<sup>3</sup>. He isolated an acrid resinous material from this plant. It produces nausea, vomiting, and purgation. The plant, when heated with water, gives off a peculiar nauseating odour. The plant has apparently no striking toxic action.

## REFERENCES

- (<sup>1</sup>) A. T. Bryant: Ann. Natal Museum, 1909, II, 1, 12, 23, 40, 42, 83.  
 (<sup>2</sup>) J. Medley Wood: Natal Plants, 1899, I, plate 12, p. 13.  
 (<sup>3</sup>) C. F. Juritz: Reports of So. Afr. Ass. Adv. Sci. 1911, 100.

**ATHRIXIA PHYLICOIDES, DC.**

## FAMILY: COMPOSITAE

Watt and Brandwijk No. 1578. South African National Herbarium No. 6027.

## COMMON NAMES

*English*: Kaffir Tea<sup>1</sup>. *Suto*: Sephomolo. *Gcaleku*: igqogqina. *Zulu*: Umtchanela = broom (for sweeping).

## GROWTH AND DISTRIBUTION

Ex Thabaneng: a bush growing 2 to 3 feet high on the slopes of hills and in river beds. It is found also in the Transkei and the Natal Coastal Belt.

## NATIVE USES

*Suto*.—A decoction of the leaves is used internally as a purgative. It is sometimes given as an enema. The plant is regarded by the Sutos as non-poisonous. *Gcaleka*.—The fresh leaves are apparently used by the Gcalekas as a tea, the decoction being drunk with milk and sugar. *Zulu*.—The Zulus use an infusion, in teacupful doses twice or thrice daily, as a "blood purifier", e.g. in the treatment of "Natal Sores", boils etc.

The plant is also used by Europeans, apparently with considerable success. Dr. Russell Strapp<sup>2</sup> informs us that he has found its use very beneficial in the treatment of furunculosis.

## CHEMICAL COMPOSITION AND PHARMACOLOGICAL ACTION

No investigation of the plant is on record.

## REFERENCES

- (<sup>1</sup>) R. Marloth: "The Flora of South Africa": A Dictionary of the Common Names of Plants, 1917, 130.  
 (<sup>2</sup>) W. Russell-Strapp: Private Communication.

**ASTER MURICATUS, Less.****FAMILY : COMPOSITAE**

Watt and Brandwijk No. 1579. South African National Herbarium No. 6028.

**COMMON NAMES**

*Suto* : Moroka hloho.

**GROWTH AND DISTRIBUTION**

Ex Thabaneng : a common plant in Basutoland.

**NATIVE USES**

*Suto*.—The fresh plant is crushed in the hand and smelled to relieve headache (cf. *Anemone transvaalensis*.<sup>1</sup>) If a portion of the plant is placed in the food of a woman, she will readily confess her guilt.

**CHEMICAL COMPOSITION AND PHARMACOLOGICAL ACTION**

No investigation is recorded.

**REFERENCE**

(<sup>1</sup>) Brandwijk and Watt : *Med. J. S. A.* 1925, XX, 12, 357.

**HERMANNIA COCCOCARPA, E & Z.**

(*Mahernia coccocarpa*, E & Z.)

**FAMILY : STERCULIACEAE**

Watt and Brandwijk No. 1580. South African National Herbarium No. 6016.

**COMMON NAMES**

*Suto* : Seletjane, Phate ea ngaka = the carpet of the doctor, Le ilane Boloulo<sup>1</sup> = the loose soft one who avoids or turns from, Boulana = the small loose one, Qena e nyenyane<sup>1</sup> = the small qena the verb "*ho qena*" = to dislike or to avoid Sehlare sa mollo<sup>1</sup> = medicine of fire.

**GROWTH AND DISTRIBUTION**

Ex Thabaneng, where it is very common and grows on sandy soil. iPhillips<sup>1</sup> states that it grows on veld and mountain slopes, 4 to 15 inches high : flowers dark violet — spring and summer. It is found

also in South West Africa, Calvinia, Graaff Reinet, Molteno, Queens-town, Albert, Aliwal North, Kingwilliamstown, Natal, Griqualand West, Orange Free State, Bechuanaland and the Transvaal.

### NATIVE USES

*Suto*.—This plant is used a great deal as a remedy among the Sutos. Crushed, it is applied as a plaster to wounds. It is also given to horses for cough. It is commonly mixed with other remedies in the belief that it makes them work better. This is the reason for the second name given above. Phillips<sup>1</sup> states that it is applied to burns.

### CHEMICAL COMPOSITION AND PHARMACOLOGICAL ACTION

The plant has not been investigated.

#### REFERENCE

(<sup>1</sup>) E. P. Phillips: Ann. S. A. Museum, 1917, XVI, 1, 51.

### HARVEYA SPECIOSA, Bernh.

#### FAMILY : SCROPHULARIACEAE

Watt and Brandwijk No. 1582. South African National Herbarium No. 6010.

### COMMON NAMES

*Suto* : Lekholela la Basotho, Seona<sup>1</sup> = he who gets spoilt (or withered) quickly, Mokonyi<sup>1</sup> derived from the verb "ho kunya" = to lift up.

### GROWTH AND DISTRIBUTION

Ex Thabaneng, where the plant grows in fertile soil in valleys, especially near rivers. Phillips<sup>1</sup>, states that it grows on mountain slopes and on river banks, 5 to 18 inches high : flowers white—summer. It is found also at Stockenstroom, Bedford, Transkei, Tembuland, East Griqualand, Natal and the Transvaal.

### NATIVE USES

*Suto*.—A quantity of this plant, powdered, is introduced into the food of persons who are thought to have been bewitched by their relatives. It is said to be efficacious. According to Phillips<sup>1</sup> a medicine for the cure of madness is prepared from the plant.

### CHEMICAL COMPOSITION AND PHARMACOLOGICAL ACTION

The properties of the plant have not been investigated.

#### REFERENCE

(<sup>1</sup>) E. P. Phillips: Ann. S. A. Museum, 1917, XVI, 1, 229.

**INDIGOFERA TRISTOIDES, N. E. Br.****FAMILY : PAPILLONACEAE**

Watt and Brandwijk No. 1583. South African National Herbarium No. 6026.

**COMMON NAMES**

*Suto*.—Musapelo : according to Phillips<sup>1</sup>, *Indigofera tristis*, E. Mey. is known also as *Musa pelo* derived from the verb “*ho busa*” = to bring back, and *pelo* = the heart.

**GROWTH AND DISTRIBUTION**

Ex Thabaneng, where it grows on hills and river-beds.

**NATIVE USES**

*Suto*.—The Sutos chew the plant for neuralgia and snake-bite and when a great sorrow has fallen on them.

**CHEMICAL COMPOSITION AND PHARMACOLOGICAL ACTION**

The plant has not been investigated. *Indigofera anil*, L. and *Indigofera tinctoria*, L. and other species give us the dye Indigo, which occurs in nature as a poisonous glucoside<sup>2</sup>.

*Indigofera galeoides*, DC. contains a glucoside resembling amygdalin, in such quantities that the leaves yield 3% of hydrocyanic acid.<sup>3</sup>

**REFERENCES**

- <sup>1</sup> E. P. Phillips : Ann. S. A. Museum, 1917, XVI, 1, 81.
- <sup>2</sup> R. Kobert : Lehrbuch der Intoxikationen, 1906, 2nd. edition, 2, 649.
- <sup>3</sup> The Same, page 839.

**ERIOSEMA SALIGNUM, E. Mey.****FAMILY : LEGUMINOSAE**

Watt and Brandwijk No. 1584. South African National Herbarium No. 6011.

**COMMON NAMES**

*Suto* : Leshetla, Lesapo<sup>1</sup> = bone, so called because of the long root which is as hard as bone. *Xosa* : um-Fisi.<sup>2</sup>

**GROWTH AND DISTRIBUTION**

Ex Thabaneng, where it is found growing in ordinary veld in valleys. Phillips<sup>1</sup> states that the plant grows on veld and mountain



slopes, 10 to 20 inches high : flowers yellow.—summer. It is found also in Albany, Tembuland, East Griqualand, Natal and the Transvaal.

### NATIVE USES

*Suto*.—The plant is burnt in front of the hut during storms in order to drive away lightning. It is used also by native doctors for the same purpose. Phillips<sup>1</sup> records that it is used as a stimulant for bulls in Spring. *Xosa*.—A decoction of the root is used as a diuretic<sup>2</sup>.

### CHEMICAL COMPOSITION AND PHARMACOLOGICAL ACTION

The plant has not been investigated.

### REFERENCES

1. E. P. Phillips : Ann. S. A. Museum, 1917, XVI, 1, 87.
2. A. Smith : A Contribution to South African Materia Medica, 1895, 3rd. Edition, 90, 134.

## PHYGELIUS CAPENSIS, E. Mey.

### FAMILY : SCROPHULARIACEAE

Watt and Brandwijk No. 1587. South African National Herbarium No. 6019.

### COMMON NAMES

*Suto* : Mafifi matšu, Mafifi matšo<sup>1</sup> = black darkness, so-called because the plant turns black when dried, Metsi matšo<sup>1</sup> = black water.

### GROWTH AND DISTRIBUTION

Ex Thabaneng, where the plant grows to a height of 3 feet alongside water courses. Phillips<sup>1</sup> found it near a river growing 20 to 45 inches high : flowers bright red—summer. It is found also in Albany, Stockenstroom, Bedford, Queenstown, Somerset East, Graaff Reinet, Murraysburg, Albert and East Griqualand.

### NATIVE USES

*Suto*.—The plant is apparently one of the ingredients of the secret medicine used at the time of circumcision. It appears probable that this medicine contains in addition the flesh of enemies killed during war. It is credited with giving protection against witchcraft and courage during wartime.

According to Phillips<sup>1</sup>, the burnt roots are placed in incisions on the body to cure numbness of the limbs, and are used by witch doctors as a charm against damage to crops by hail.

## CHEMICAL COMPOSITION AND PHARMACOLOGICAL ACTION

The plant has not been investigated.

### REFERENCE

- (<sup>1</sup>) E. P. Phillips : Ann. S. A. Museum, 1917, XVI, 1, 215.

## ANDROCYMBIUM MELANTHIOIDES, Willd.

### FAMILY : LILIACEAE

Watt and Brandwijk No. 1589. South African National Herbarium No. 6033.

### COMMON NAMES

*Afrikaans* : Baviaansschoen<sup>1</sup>, Patryshlom<sup>1</sup>. *Suto* : 'Metsane, Khukhoana e nyenyane<sup>2</sup> = the tiny Khukhu (bulb).

### GROWTH AND DISTRIBUTION

Ex Thabaneng, where it is rare and found on the tops of mountains. Phillips<sup>2</sup> states that the plant grows on plateaux, 3 to 10 inches high : flowers white—summer. The plant has been found also at Worcester, Albany, Somerset East, Murraysburg, Victoria East, Graaff Reinet and in Swaziland, Griqualand West and the Transvaal.

### NATIVE USES

*Suto*.—The plant is used as a charm in war time to stop the advance of the enemy. Phillips<sup>2</sup> records that it is mixed with *Polygala* sp. and used in the treatment of many diseases.

## CHEMICAL COMPOSITION AND PHARMACOLOGICAL ACTION

No investigations are recorded.

### REFERENCES

(<sup>1</sup>) R. Marloth : "The Flora of South Africa", A Dictionary of the Common Names of Plants, 1917, 137.

(<sup>2</sup>) E. P. Phillips. Ann. S. A. Museum, 1917, XVI, I, 312.

**POLYGALA HOTTENTOTTA, Presl.**

## FAMILY : POLYGALEAE

Watt and Brandwijk No. 1592. South African National Herbarium No. 6005.

## COMMON NAMES

*Suto* : Lenano.

## GROWTH AND DISTRIBUTION

Ex Thabaneng, where it is common.

## NATIVE USES

*Suto*.—A watery preparation of the root is drunk in the treatment of mumps.

## CHEMICAL COMPOSITION AND PHARMACOLOGICAL ACTION

The plant has not been investigated.

**DIERAMA PENDULA, Bkr.**

## FAMILY : IRIDEAE

Watt and Brandwijk No. 1595. South African National Herbarium No. 6017.

## COMMON NAMES

*Suto* : Lethepu, Lethepu<sup>1</sup>.

## GROWTH AND DISTRIBUTION

Ex Thabaneng, where it grows on hillsides to a height of about five feet. Phillips<sup>1</sup> states that it grows on river-banks and mountain slopes, 40 to 60 inches high : flowers pink and white—Spring. It is found also at Humansdorp, Port Elizabeth, Alexandria, Albany, Somerset East, Murraysburg, Stutterheim and Stockenström, and in Tembuland, East Griqualand, Natal, the Transvaal and Orange Free State.

## NATIVE USES

*Suto*.—A decoction of the bulb is given as an enema, producing purgation. Phillips<sup>1</sup> mentions a similar use, and states in addition that it is sometimes mixed with *Pentanisia variabilis* to weaken its action.

## CHEMICAL COMPOSITION AND PHARMACOLOGICAL ACTION

No investigations of the plant are recorded.

## REFERENCES

<sup>1</sup>) E. P. Phillips : Ann. S. A. Museum, 1917, XVI, 1, 270.

**GNIDIA (=Lasiosiphon anthylloides, Meisn.)****FAMILY : THYMELACEAE**

Watt and Brandwijk No. 1596. South African National Herbarium No. 6031.

**COMMON NAMES**

*Suto*: Moomang, Moomang<sup>1</sup> derived from the verb "*ho omana*" = to quarrel. *Zulu*: Indolo<sup>2</sup>.

**GROWTH AND DISTRIBUTION**

Ex Thabaneng, where it is common. Phillips<sup>1</sup> states that it is a shrub growing on mountain slopes 3 to 5 feet high: flowers yellow and strongly scented—winter and spring. It is found also at Riversdale, George, Albany, Transkei, Tembuland, Natal, Zululand, Transvaal, Pretoria, Knysna, Humansdorp, Uitenhage, Port Elizabeth, Bathurst, Kingwilliamstown, Komgha and Graaff Reinet.

**NATIVE USES**

*Suto*.—The plant is burnt in a hut to fumigate it when cases of 'fever' or 'bad dreams' have occurred there. Phillips<sup>1</sup> mentions that the plant is used as fuel in times of necessity only, as the smoke bewitches people and makes them quarrelsome.

**CHEMICAL COMPOSITION AND PHARMACOLOGICAL ACTION**

Smith<sup>3</sup> states that, when chewed, the plant is irritant. Pammel<sup>4</sup> is of the opinion that it is poisonous. An infusion, given as a drench, produces diarrhoea and eventually death in sheep.<sup>5</sup>

The root of *Lasiosiphon meisnerianus*, Endl<sup>6</sup>, contains an irritant resin, tannin and a reducing sugar. No alkaloids or glucosides were isolated from it. Marloth<sup>7</sup> states that this plant and several others of the same genus contain a very pungent principle.

**REFERENCES**

- (<sup>1</sup>) E. P. Phillips: Ann. S. Museum, 1917, XVI, 1, 255.
- (<sup>2</sup>) J. Medley Wood: Natal Plants, 1902, 3, 22.
- (<sup>3</sup>) A. Smith: A Contribution to South African Materia Medica, 1895, 3rd edition, 36.
- (<sup>4</sup>) L. H. Pammel: Manual of Poisonous Plants, 1911, 855.
- (<sup>5</sup>) E. P. Phillips: Botanical Survey of South Africa. Memoir IX, 1926, 27.
- (<sup>6</sup>) H. Rogerson: Amer. J. Pharm. 1911, 83, 49, through J. Chem. Soc. Abs. 1911, 2, 325.
- (<sup>7</sup>) R. Marloth: The Chemistry of South African Plants and Plant Products, Pres. Add. Cape Chem. Soc. 1913, 12.



**ASCLEPIAS STELLIFERA, Schl.****FAMILY : ASCLEPIADACEAE**

Watt and Brandwijk No. 1597. South African National Herbarium No. 6024.

**COMMON NAMES**

*Suto* : Mohlatsisa, Mohulantja<sup>1</sup> = he who attracts dogs.

**GROWTH AND DISTRIBUTION**

*Ex Thabaneng.* Phillips<sup>1</sup> states that it grows on veld and mountain slopes, 5 to 12 inches high : flowers mauve and pinkish—summer. It is found also at Queenstown, Aliwal North and in the Transkei, Griqualand West, The Orange Free State and the Transvaal.

**NATIVE USES**

*Suto.*—The plant is administered as an emetic drink in cases of snake-bite and of non-fatal lightning stroke. *Bushman.*—The Bushmen have used it as one of the ingredients of arrow-poison.

Other members of this *Genus* are used in popular medicine in South Africa. *Xysmalobium undulatum* R.Br. (formerly known as *Asclepias undulata*, L.) has been used for one hundred and fifty years as a remedy for colic among both Europeans and Natives. It has also been used, particularly when mixed with *Asclepias crispa*, as a diuretic in cases of dropsy.

**CHEMICAL COMPOSITION AND PHARMACOLOGICAL ACTION**

No investigation of *Asclepias stellifera* is recorded, but several others of the same *Genus* have been examined. *Asclepias curassavica* and *A. incarnata* contain a glucoside, *Asclepiadin*, which decomposes easily<sup>2</sup>. *Asclepiadin*, when taken internally, produces salivation, nausea, vomiting, diarrhoea, paralysis and spasms of muscles. It stimulates heart muscle at first but later paralyses it.

**REFERENCES**

(<sup>1</sup>) E. P. Phillips : Ann. S. A. Museum 1917, XVI, I, 193.

(<sup>2</sup>) Chr. Cram : Arch. Exp. P. 1885, XIX, 390, through R. Kobert, Lehrbuch der Intoxikationen, 1906, 2nd, edition. II, 1152.

**HELIOPHILA SUAVISSIMA, Burch.****FAMILY : CRUCIFERAE**

Watt and Brandwijk No. 1600. South African National Herbarium No. 6018.

**COMMON NAMES**

*Suto* : Lemamelwane.

## GROWTH AND DISTRIBUTION

Ex Thabaneng, where it is found on the mountains only, growing to a height of 6 inches. It is not common. Phillips<sup>1</sup> states that he found it on the Leribe Plateau, flowering in January, with flowers purple or pink in colour. The plant has been found also at Port Elizabeth and Graaff Reinet.

## NATIVE USES

*Suto*.—The plant is eaten by Native doctors before using the divining bones, meanwhile reciting the praises of the plant. Apparently it is not regarded as having any physical action.

## CHEMICAL COMPOSITION AND PHARMACOLOGICAL ACTION

The plant has not been investigated.

## REFERENCE

(<sup>1</sup>) E. P. Phillips : Ann. S. A. Museum, 1917, XVI, 1, 38.

**ERODIUM CICUTARIUM, L'Herit.**

## FAMILY : GERANIACEAE

Watt and Brandwijk No. 1601. South African National Herbarium No. 6032.

## COMMON NAMES

*English* : Storksbill<sup>1</sup>, Heronsbill<sup>2</sup>. *Suto* : Makoratsoane, Makoro-tsoane<sup>3</sup>.

## GROWTH AND DISTRIBUTION

Ex Thabaneng. Phillips<sup>3</sup> states that the plant grows on veld and mountain slopes, 3 to 20 inches high : flowers mauve—spring. It is an introduced weed.

## NATIVE USES

*Suto*.—The plant is cooked and taken for the treatment of dysentery. It is sometimes mixed with *Pelargonium* species.

## CHEMICAL COMPOSITION AND PHARMACOLOGICAL ACTION

The plant is common as a weed in the western part of America, where the sharp-pointed fruits cause considerable trouble by becoming entangled in the wool of sheep and irritating the skin<sup>1</sup>. It is

also common in Holland where it is used in popular medicine. Van Dongen<sup>4</sup> states that it is an excellent substitute for Hydrastis as a styptic in uterine haemorrhage. He states also that the plant is non-toxic and that the styptic action is not due to tannin. Kroeber<sup>5</sup> states that an extract is haemostatic.

Wasicky<sup>2</sup> has subjected the plant to considerable chemical investigation. He found that, on combustion, it gives 12 to 14% of ash, and that of this ash 40% is potassium oxide. He was unable to isolate any *organic* principle having an action on the uterus. He confirms the fact that extracts of the plant have a powerful peripheral effect upon the uterus, producing an increase in tonus and in contractile activity.

#### REFERENCES

- (<sup>1</sup>) L. H. Pammel : Manual of Poisonous Plants, 1911, 67, 120, 578, 579.
- (<sup>2</sup>) R. Wasicky : Wien. Klin. Wochenscher. 1919, 32, 1.  
Zentr. Biochem. Biophys. 20, 511.  
both through Chem. Abs. 1920, 311.
- (<sup>3</sup>) E. P. Phillips : Ann. S. A. Museum, 1917, XVI, 1, 62.
- (<sup>4</sup>) J. A. van Dongen : Chem. Drug. 1916, 88, 41,  
J. Pharm. Chim. 1916, 13, 256.  
both through Chem. Abs. 1916, 2124.
- (<sup>5</sup>) L. Kroeber : Pharm. Zentralhalle, 1922, 63, 437, 465, through Chem. Abs. 1922. 4297.

### GUNNERA PERPENZA, L.

#### FAMILY : HALORAGACEAE

Watt and Brandwijk No. 1602. South African National Herbarium No. 6006.

#### COMMON NAMES

*English* : River Pumpkin<sup>1</sup>. *Afrikaans* : Wilde Ramenas<sup>2,3</sup>  
*Suto* : Qobo, Qobo<sup>4</sup> = favourite of a chief. *Zulu* : uGobo<sup>5</sup>. *Xosa*.  
i-Puzi-lomlambo<sup>1</sup>.

#### GROWTH AND DISTRIBUTION

Ex Thabaneng, where the plant grows in swampy places. Philip<sup>4</sup> states that the plant grows 8 to 30 inches high and has flowers which are crimson and yellowish, appearing in summer. It is found also in the Cape, Murraysburg, Somerset East, Komgha, Tembuland, Natal and Swaziland.

## NATIVE USES

*Suto*.—A decoction of the root is given to animals to aid in the expulsion of the placenta, when this is delayed. It is sometimes given to women for the same purpose. Phillips<sup>4</sup> records a similar use in animals and in addition states that the decoction is drunk for colic and taken by pregnant women.

*Zulu*.—According to Bryant<sup>5</sup>, the Zulus use a decoction internally for urinary complaints, barrenness, impotency and rheumatism. *Xosa*.—Smith<sup>1</sup> mentions that the roots are used with *Clematis brachiata*, Thunb. in the treatment of "bots" in horses.

Pappe<sup>2</sup> recorded that the farmers of the interior used a decoction of the root as a tonic in dyspepsia, and stated that a tincture is an efficient remedy for "gravel". He stated also that an infusion of the leaves was said to act as a demulcent in pulmonary affections and to cure ulcerations and wounds when applied fresh.

## CHEMICAL COMPOSITION AND PHARMACOLOGICAL ACTION

The plant has not been investigated.

## REFERENCES

- (<sup>1</sup>) A. Smith: A Contribution to South African Materia Medica, 1895, 3rd. Edition, 161.
- (<sup>2</sup>) L. Pappe: Florae Capensis Medicae Prodrromus, 1868, 3rd edition, 36.
- (<sup>3</sup>) R. Marloth: "The Flora of South Africa": A Dictionary of the Common Names of Plants, 1917, 121.
- (<sup>4</sup>) E. P. Phillips: Ann. S. A. Museum, 1917, XVI, 1, 97.
- (<sup>5</sup>) A. T. Bryant: Ann. Natal Museum, 1909, II, 1, 50, 56, 58, 82.

**IMPOMOEA OBLONGATA, E.Mey.**

## FAMILY: CONVULVULACEAE

Watt and Brandwijk No. 1603. South African National Herbarium No. 6007.

## COMMON NAMES

*Suto*: Mothokho, Mothokho<sup>1</sup>.

## GROWTH AND DISTRIBUTION

Ex Thabaneng. According to Phillips<sup>1</sup> the plant is a creeper, growing on veld and mountain slopes, 15 to 30 inches long: flowers magenta—summer. It is found also in the Transvaal and Natal.

## NATIVE USES

*Suto*.—The plant, mixed with another, is burnt to stop lightning. The root is edible and in times of famine is ground and used as food.



According to Phillips<sup>1</sup> the leaves are mixed with tobacco leaves to make snuff, and the smoke from the burning plant is supposed to drive lightning away.

## CHEMICAL COMPOSITION AND PHARMACOLOGICAL ACTION

No investigation of this plant is on record. The sweet potatoe, *Ipomoea batatas* Lam., belongs to this genus<sup>2</sup>. In addition, many others are used in medicine, all having a purgative action, e.g. *Ipomoea purga*, Heyne., which contains the purgative resin, Jalapin<sup>3</sup>.

## REFERENCES

- (<sup>1</sup>) E. P. Phillips : Ann. S. A. Museum. 1917, XVI, 1, 206.
- (<sup>2</sup>) Fr. Thonner : The Flowering Plants of Africa, 1915, 462.
- (<sup>3</sup>) R. Kober : Lehrbuch der Intoxikationen, 1906, 2nd edition, 565.

## ASCLEPIAS FRUTICOSA, L.

### FAMILY : ASCLEPIADACEAE

Watt and Brandwijk No. 1702. South African National Herbarium No. 6009.

## COMMON NAMES

*English* : Wild kapok<sup>1</sup>, firesticks<sup>1</sup> wild cotton<sup>1</sup>, shrubby milkweed<sup>1</sup>.  
*Afrikaans* : gansies<sup>1</sup>, melk-bos<sup>1</sup>, tondel-bos<sup>1</sup>, wilde kapok<sup>1</sup>, *Suto* : Moethimolo, Moethimolo<sup>3</sup> = he who reveals, Lebejana<sup>3</sup> = small cream. *Zulu* : Usinga lwa Salugase = old women's sinews.

## GROWTH AND DISTRIBUTION

*Ex Morija* : a shrub growing commonly in dry fields and lands. Phillips<sup>3</sup> found it growing on veld and mountain slopes, 30 to 45 inches high : flowers pale yellow—summer. It is found also at Oudtschoorn, Riversdale, George, Knysna, Queenstown, Graaff Reinet, Colesburg, Kingwilliamstown, Natal, Griqualand West, Orange Free State and the Transvaal.

## NATIVE USES

*Suto*.—The stem is dried and scraped. The scrapings are used as a snuff, particularly against fainting. *Zulu*.—The fresh leaves are crushed and soaked in water or milk, and the fluid administered to children for stomach troubles.

## CHEMICAL COMPOSITION AND PHARMACOLOGICAL ACTION

Burt Davy<sup>2</sup>, using supplies of the plant from Bechuanaland, investigated the action of the plant by feeding experiments on animals in connection with his researches into the cause of Gal-lamziekte. One of the experimental animals died. The plant acts as a purgative.

## REFERENCES

(<sup>1</sup>) R. Marloth: "The Flora of South Africa." A Dictionary of the Common Names of Plants, 1917, 28, 30, 46, 57, 125.

(<sup>2</sup>) J. Burt Davy: 2nd. Rpt. Dir. Vet. Res. (Union of South Africa) 1912, 192.

(<sup>3</sup>) E. P. Phillips: Ann. S. A. Museum, 1917, XVI, 1, 194.

## GAZANIA SERRULATA, DC.

## FAMILY : COMPOSITAE

Watt and Brandwijk No. 1704. South African National Herbarium No. 6020.

## COMMON NAMES

*Suto*: Tsikitlane (the flower is known as Shoeshoe), Tsikitlane<sup>1</sup>, derived from the verb "*ho tsikitlana*" = to become stiff from cold, Palesa e bitsoa shoeshoe<sup>1</sup>.

## GROWTH AND DISTRIBUTION

Ex Morija. The plant is very common in Basutoland, usually growing in dry parts. Phillips<sup>1</sup>, states that it grows on veld and mountain slopes, 2 to 12 inches high: flowers yellow—spring to autumn. It is found also in Natal, Bechuanaland and the Transvaal.

## NATIVE USES

*Suto*.—A hot decoction of the root is held in the mouth for the treatment of toothache. Phillips<sup>1</sup> records that the plant is crushed and mixed with water and instilled into the ears for earache.

## CHEMICAL COMPOSITION AND PHARMACOLOGICAL ACTION

The plant has not been investigated.

## REFERENCE

<sup>1</sup>) E. P. Phillips: Ann. S. A. Museum, 1917, XVI, 1, 165.

**HERMANNIA DEPRESSA, N.E. Br.****FAMILY : STERCULIACEAE**

Watt and Brandwijk No. 1705. South African National Herbarium No. 5998.

**COMMON NAMES**

*Suto* : Seletjane, Seletjane<sup>1</sup>, Phate ea ngaka<sup>1</sup> -- the bedding or the carpet of the doctor. *Zulu* : Ishesizwe.

**GROWTH AND DISTRIBUTION**

Ex Morija. A creeping plant found all over Basutoland. Phillips<sup>1</sup> states that it grows on veld and mountain slopes, 4 to 20 inches high : flowers reddish-yellow---spring and summer. It is found also in South-West Africa, Tembuland, Griqualand East, Natal, the Transvaal, Orange Free State and Rhodesia.

**NATIVE USES**

*Suto*.---The juice of the plant is taken internally, mixed with water, for "stomachache." It produces purging and sweating. Phillips<sup>1</sup> mentions that it is used by Native doctors when working the divining bones. He states also that it is renowned as a remedy for colic and is used as a charm against witchcraft. *Zulu*.--The Zulus use the roots mixed with the roots of *Ipomoea crassipes*, Hook. in water as an emetic. This action is used as a counter-charm, by husband or wife, when it is thought that discords between the couple are caused by the influence of some other individual wishing to separate them.

**CHEMICAL COMPOSITION AND PHARMACOLOGICAL ACTION**

Nothing is known about the plant.

**REFERENCE**

(<sup>1</sup>) E. P. Phillips : Ann. S. A. Museum, 1917, XVI, 1, 51.

**GALIUM WITTEBERGENSE, Sond., var. glabrum, Phillips.****FAMILY : RUBIACEAE**

Watt and Brandwijk No. 1924. South African National Herbarium No. 7039.

**COMMON NAMES .**

*Suto* : Morara o mofubelu = red roots, Morarana oa mangope<sup>1</sup>, Scharani<sup>1</sup>.

## GROWTH AND DISTRIBUTION

**Ex Morija.** It is a shrub, three to five inches high, common everywhere in Basutoland. According to Phillips<sup>1</sup>, the shrub grows on mountain slopes: flowers yellow—spring and summer.

## NATIVE USES

*Suto*.—An infusion, made by boiling the roots, is taken night and morning during the latter part of pregnancy. This is thought to prepare the woman for the birth. The plant is stated to be purgative.

## CHEMICAL COMPOSITION AND PHARMACOLOGICAL ACTION

No investigation of the plant is on record. Other members of the genus have received attention. Some have been found to contain *Cumarin*, a pleasantly odorous substance, while others contain *Hesperidin*, a bitter glucoside.

## REFERENCE

- (<sup>1</sup>) E. P. Phillips: Ann. S. A. Museum, 1917, XVI, 1, 113.
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## THE CIRCUMCISION CEREMONY IN FINGOLAND

By FRANK BROWNLEE, Magistrate, Butterworth, Transkei.

By arrangement with the head of the kraal concerned I was present at a circumcision ceremony at Bawa, Butterworth district on the 16th and 17th August 1927. I am thus able to record the following facts which came then under my personal notice.

Shortly before sunset a concourse of people gathered in the location and proceeded to the kraals where the two boys to be circumcised had been placed for the time being. The ceremony of collecting the boys is called *u-Mguyo*, the same term being applied to the ceremonial dances connected with the assembling of *impis* prior to their going to war.

The boys having been received, the people proceeded to escort them to the kraal of the father of one of them, a man of some position in the location. The boys were surrounded by those who were more or less of their own age, the next in proximity being the men, the women remaining on the outskirts of the throng dancing, crying out with shrill quavering calls and trailing their blankets on the ground. The men chanted. The younger men from time to time dashed out of the crowd prancing, gesticulating in fighting attitudes and engaging in sham fights, so that there was a medley of sounds which blended not inharmoniously: the shrill cries of the women being mellowed by the bass chant of the men and the whole being punctuated by the clatter of the sticks of the sham fighters.

On arriving at the kraal of——where the ceremonials were to take place, the boys were escorted to a hut where they were placed for the time being. The male portion of the escort in the meantime adjourned to the cattle kraal where the older men sat down on the right inside the gate while the younger men and boys took up a position on the left. Meat was cooking in pots in the centre of the kraal.

After an interval the boys to be circumcised were escorted to the gate of the kraal amid much prancing, dancing and singing. By the time they arrived at the gate, a number of the older men had placed themselves before the entrance to bar the progress of the boys, singing the while to this effect:

Who are these,

That seek to enter manhood?

Who are these

That seek to enter the kingdom of the men?

After dancing for a while the boys dodged between the men who had been barring their way and entered the kraal where they took up a position on the left hand side. The novitiates were clad in sheep skin karosses which were worn in such a way as to cover their heads as well as their bodies. After entering the kraal they discarded the sheep skins and danced before the company quite naked, except for streamers made of long strips of sheep skin tied at their knees and elbows. I cannot say more of their motions in dancing than that they were suggestive of procreating ability: this idea indeed might be applied to the movements of all the dancers, male and female, throughout the ceremony. After dancing on the left side of the kraal the candidates moved to the right side and danced before the older men, and while dancing they were anointed with a frothy emulsion which was poured over their heads and which trickled down their bodies. The anointing was performed by a "Doctor" specially engaged for the purpose. I gathered that the root of the *Agapanthus* was one of the "medicines" in the liquid used for anointment. It is in common use for medicated baths and is one of the several medicinal plants known as *i-Sicakati*.

The boys continued to dance for a while and then returned to the left side of the kraal where they sat down, after which meat was distributed to all the principal people who, from their portion, gave a share to those subordinate to them in rank. This applied also to myself, and a liberal portion was laid before me, an aloe leaf serving for a plate. After partaking of some I handed the remainder to those considered to be in attendance upon me.

All this while the women sang and danced near the kraal gate, and from time to time pieces of meat were taken out to them, being received with such remarks as "Who has honoured me with this mark of favour?" "To whom am I indebted for this attention?" This appeared to be a symbolic means of establishing relations between the males within and the females without the kraal, and, I was informed, it might lead to intercourse if suitable opportunities offered. The cautious husband would keep careful watch upon his wife to see from whom she received a "favour". No meat was given to the boys who were not permitted to eat meat from midday that day until after they had been circumcised next day.

After the meat had been eaten the boys were escorted back to the hut from which they had last come and from there to the *isutu* hut—the place of seclusion, a small beehive-shaped hut made of grass and saplings.

At this stage there was a lull in the proceedings, it being now dusk.

Later on in the evening I returned to the kraal, and proceeding to the *isutu*, found the boys and their attendants fast asleep, apparently tired out after the afternoon's exertions. I then went to the hut where the "Surgeon" was lodged for the night and entered after being granted permission. The surgeon was lying on a grass mat next the wall on the right side of the entrance, and next to him on the same mat lay his attendant, an elderly man who stood for a barrier between the surgeon and all contaminating influences and as a guard over his actions. The Surgeon was to be kept pure, he was not to come into contact with women, he was not to have beer and was expected not to smoke. He was to fast until he had performed the operation of circumcision. The attendant was the curtain which cut him off from such things as were liable to defile him.

(It may here be mentioned that, in the case of a death in a hut, the body is placed on the right side of the hut next the wall and is curtained off with a suspended mat or blanket, so that persons entering the hut may not be rendered unclean by their proximity to the corpse).

The Surgeon, after cautious and diplomatic suggestion, showed me the lancet with which the operation was to be performed. It was the blade of an assegai, the shaft of which had been replaced by a wooden handle. The blade was razor sharp and was carefully wrapped in a bandage and carried in a leathern sheath. I was told that this instrument had been preserved from ancient times and used from year to year as occasion required. Its well worn shape and the reverent manner in which it was handled went to confirm the statement that it, along with the office of Surgeon, had been handed down from father to son for many generations.

As the people appeared to desire rest I had to cut my enquiries short and withdraw, understanding that the circumcision would take place at sunrise the following morning.

At dawn next day people were already making their way towards the kraal. As red showed, prior to the sun's rising, a herd of cattle with an ample escort was driven towards the cattle kraal. As they approached, the women rushed out and with shrill cries, dancing and trailing blankets, ran round about the cattle at a respectful distance. The cattle were driven into the kraal, and the boys, who had meantime been brought back from the *Sutu* to the hut in which they had been the previous afternoon, were escorted to the gate of the cattle-kraal where the men formed a half circle round the gate with the boys facing the gate. The cattle were driven out of the kraal towards the boys, where they stood with their heads down facing the boys.

At a signal the half circle changed its direction and faced the *Sutu* some five hundred yards distant. The cattle being driven and leading, all the men proceeded in that direction. Arrived at the *Sutu*, the boys entered with the Surgeon and his attendant. After a moment's interval they all reappeared, the Surgeon and his attendant naked except for their charms and bead ornaments, the boys clad in their sheep skins. The boys sat down with their backs to the hut facing the east and the sun, which was just then rising; a point of their karosses was drawn forward between their legs and spread flat on the ground. The Surgeon immediately proceeded with his work. The operation took an instant, the foreskin being extended to its full length beyond the *glans penis* and removed with one deft stroke of the assegai blade. Bleeding was not profuse and the little blood that flowed dropped on to the sheep skins, where sand was thrown upon it to dry it up. At the moment the act of circumcision began, a man fired a shot from a gun. This I venture to state corresponds with the practice prevalent among some tribes of raising a great shout as the circumcision is performed, acclaiming the act of initiation, at the same time distracting the attention of the boys and serving to drown the possible cries of the less hardy of the initiates.

Directly the operation had been completed the Surgeon and his attendant proceeded to dress the wounded parts with healing plants which had been placed in readiness. Next the wound were placed leaves of *isicwe* (*Helichrysum pedunculare*). This leaf has a white woolly surface underneath and would probably act as an absorbent. Outside the *isicwe* leaves were placed thin sections of the bulb known as *incwadi* (*Cyrtanthus obliquus*). The sections or layers flake away as do those of an onion. This bulb is not to be confused with one of the amaryllis species also known as *incwadi*. It may not be out of place to mention here that the Sixosa word for a book is taken from the name of the bulb referred to, the leaves of an opened book appearing to flake apart as do the layers or sections of *incwadi*.

While the bandaging proceeded the older men approached the boys and exhorted them as to the duties and responsibilities which would be theirs upon entering the estate of manhood.

The bandaging being completed the boys retired to the *Sutu*: then, for the time being, the ceremonies ended; except that every loose piece of grass twig, or leaf, which by any chance might have been besprinkled with blood, was carefully collected and placed on the fire which smouldered within the *Sutu*. I was informed that the fore-skins were to be taken by some trusted relatives and by them secreted



so that use might not be made of them for the casting of evil spells upon the boys.

I must not omit to mention that all the proceedings were under the direction of a master of ceremonies who on such occasions carries out his duties under the title of *i-Kankata*, that is, warder or guardian.

From enquiries made on the spot I learned that it was customary with some clans or families to shave the heads of the initiates before the ceremony, but this was merely a matter of taste or usage with the clan or family. I was also informed that in certain clans it was the practice for the initiates to go to a neighbouring stream on the evening before the circumcision and there perform necessary ablutions; with others the anointing, as has been described, was considered a suitable and sufficient act of purification.

The boys remain in seclusion for varying periods—usually three or four months during which time their bodies are kept smeared with white clay. This is no doubt in order to make them easily distinguishable so that they may be avoided by those to whom for the time being they are tabu. At the end of the period of seclusion the *Sutu* lodge is burned along with the karosses, bandages, medicines, sticks and other articles which they have used during their time of initiation.

I have refrained in the main from placing any specific construction upon the various ceremonial acts herein described, preferring to set down a simple record of facts as I found them rather than to draw conclusions and parallels which some study of the subject might justify.

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## RAINMAKING IN SOUTH AFRICA

by the Rev. S. S. DORNAN, M. A.,

The rainfall is an all important subject in South Africa. If it is copious there will be abundant crops. Water is an essential of life. Without it vegetation withers and stock languish and die. There is a famine, and the consequent starvation and death amongst man and beast. In a country like South Africa where the rain mostly falls in the form of violent showers during the summer months, there is often a shortage in the rainfall. Sometimes there is a severe drought, and the natives feel the pinch of hunger.

These conditions have influenced the growth of the rainmaker, an official of great importance in most tribes, more especially in the old days before the natives were influenced by the white man's civilisation. In those days the chief was usually the great rainmaker of the tribe. The theory that the people held on the subject without that was as follows :—The chief was the spiritual as well as the tribal head of his people, and thus had a daily power. He was the controller of the weather for the benefit of the tribe. If his bodily powers showed signs of decay, it was believed that his spiritual actions would undergo a corresponding decline. He had power to exercise his full powers over the weather, and this position animals would suffer. This was the belief of the old Varo of Rhodesia and also of the Zulus in the time of Dingaan. If belief in his powers failed, he was sometimes put to death and a younger and more vigorous man chosen in his stead. Occasionally, if he felt that his virility was declining, he would quietly do away with himself.

Sometimes, more especially recently, the chief was not the rainmaker. That office was held by the chief witch-doctor who was called in in cases of emergency, to perform the sacrifices for rain, so that the fertilizing showers might descend on the end. His business was to control the weather, and to ensure adequate rain. He must avert drought at all costs. He thus became a most important official in the tribe. His power was even greater in some respects than the chief. He wielded tremendous influence in the tribe, and was sure to become a rich man, if his reputation as a rainmaker was good. A complete confidence in his power to produce rain was necessary on the part of both chief and people. The rainmaker was very jealous of his power, and allowed no competition.

Amongst the Basuto, and Bechuana the word Rain! Rain! constantly occurs in the Dithoko or praise songs of the chiefs, and when they want to pay a great compliment to anyone they say Rain! Rain! The fundamental glory of the old Bechuana chiefs was their ability to make rain. One of the rain songs is as follows :

*Pula! Pula! Pula! Morena,  
Re shoele re le batho ba hao.  
Rain! Rain! Rain! Chief,  
We are dead who are your people.*

The rainmaker, be he chief or commoner, had recourse to certain special ceremonies to produce rain. They differed amongst different tribes, but the basal ideas were the same. Sometimes the rainmaker failed in spite of all his power and reputation, and he might be killed or driven out of the tribe, but so great was the credulity of the people that, when his failure was patent enough, he was easily able to convince them that it was due to some other cause, such as more wonderful magic on the part of another doctor.

The following are some of the ceremonies employed by the Bechuana—Basuto, Varozwe of Wankie (Abenanzwa), Baphuti of Motloutsi, and Makaranga tribes to produce rain. They may be taken as typical of the ceremonies of most other tribes, though they are not so elaborate now as they once were, except in out of the way places. Many had to be performed secretly, if they were to be successful. It has been stated that the old Bechuanas would not tell folk-tales before sun down, lest the clouds should fall upon them. Whether this statement is really true or not I do not know, but as the people sit round the fires at night they will tell the old tales freely enough, while during the day even when lounging about the villages the conversation is mostly about the cattle or crops.

When rain was needed, and the services of the rainmaker were required, it was customary to summon him stealthily and by night, lest the suspicion of the ancestral spirits might be aroused, for it was necessary to force from them the rain that they were withholding, because the chief or the people had failed to render them sufficient honour, or had neglected sacrifice. The messenger must proceed with care, he must not turn back, or stop to quench his thirst on the way, no matter how thirsty he might be; and when he neared the village of the rainmaker, he must bathe in a running stream before delivering his message. When in response to the call of the chief the rain-maker arrived at the chief's village, he shut himself in a hut specially reserved for his incantations. This hut was called



*sefahla* in Basutoland and Bechuanaland. In this hut were pots of water, drawn from a special fountain. He made a fire, boiled the water, and added to it roots and plants <sup>(1)</sup> of special power to produce rain. As the water boiled he stirred it vigorously with a churning reed, so as to make it froth, the idea being that the steam would transmit the virtues of the plant to the clouds, and so agitate them that copious rain would descend upon the earth.

When, as often happened, the arts of the rain-maker failed to bring rain, the chief was asked to assemble his people for a hunt on the neighbouring mountains. An ox <sup>(2)</sup> of a black colour must first be sacrificed, and early in the morning the people would drive their cattle to the top of the mountain. They must kill any small antelopes or baboons that they might come across in the mountains, but they must not mutilate the bodies in any way. They must disembowel the animals and throw the entrails into the streams and water holes. They must throw stones into all the gorges and waterholes of the mountains. The women, who had also to accompany the men to the hills, must uproot shrubs and plants and throw them into dried-up streams and water-holes, making as much noise as they could. Towards night-fall they would return to the village, the women singing the following or a similar song:

*Soloane he, re batla pula!*

*Helele! Pula e kae!*

*Morena, re fe pula*

*Re sala ka mehla re nyoriloe,*

*Le likhomo li nyoriloe;*

*Soloane, pula e kae!*

O Soloane! we want rain!

Oh, where is the rain?

Chief, give us rain.

We remain always thirsty,

The cattle are thirsty;

Soloane, where is the rain?

If this did not succeed, the women would try themselves. All the women had a porridge stick, called *lesokoana*. When a woman died it was buried with her. The porridge stick was held to be capable of drawing rain from the clouds, as powerful as the wands of the rainmaker themselves. The women and girls would plan to steal the porridge stick of the chief's wife. For this purpose they gathered at the village and, having divested themselves of their gar-

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<sup>(1)</sup> Plants used by Rain-doctors:—

*Chenopodium batniji*

*Solanum nigrum*

*Datura stramonium*

*Anacampseros rhodesica*

The first is the most important. Next *solanum nigrum* because its berries are black. All these plants are poisons or narcotics. They were identified for me by the late Professor Pearson of Cape Town.

<sup>(2)</sup> Animals used by Rain-doctors:

Stomach and Gall-bladder of Black ox or sheep. Bones and carapace of common Tortoise, Head of Glossy Ibis, Body of common Plover.

ments lest they should impede them, would seize the porridge stick before the owner prevented them, and carry it off with joyful cries. The women of the chief's village would pursue them and try to recapture the stick, but they were always unsuccessful, as the thieves had taken the precaution to leave certain of the fleetest of their number at intervals on the line of their flight, to take the stick from its exhausted carrier, and run on to the next woman, and so on to the prearranged place of assembly. There they would assemble and sing the following or a similar song :

*Re tsoa bona Mohlomi,  
Mohlomi o kokometse.  
Soloane, pula e kae?  
Pula! re batla pula!*

We have just seen Mohlomi,  
Mohlomi who sits alone.  
Soloane, where is the rain?  
Rain! We want rain!

This Mohlomi was a great rain-maker himself as also was Soloane. These two chiefs have been invested by the Basuto with half-mythical virtues and powers, on the way, one would say, towards deification. In any case Mohlomi was a remarkable man.

Again the gall bladder of a black sheep or goat was cut out, and the contents drunk by the rain-maker, while he anointed his body with some of it. The idea underlying this was that of sympathetic magic; that as it blackened his body, so it would help to turn the clouds black, and cause them to part with the rain. I do not think the rainmaker speculated much about sympathetic magic. Too much is often read into the ceremonies of savage peoples. Many of these ceremonies are purely traditional, and the reasons for them have been forgotten by those who practise them. What their fathers did the children do without thinking. Black fowls, black sheep, and black oxen are necessary for the rain-maker. If he can help it he must not use animals of another colour. The animals need not be entirely black, if they are partly black or have black spots they will do. The meaning of the sacrifice of the black animals is as above. They will help to turn the clouds black.

Rain and storms are also connected with the lightning bird called by the Bechuana and Basuto '*Mamasianoke*, and by the Matebele *Utegwani*. The meaning in Sesuto is "the mother of the one that rises from the river." The bird is an aberrant kind of stork, known to ornithologists as *Scopus umbretta*, the Hammerkop. It builds its nest in trees or on cliffs. The nest is a huge collection of sticks and grass like a miniature hayrick. Sometimes the bird itself was killed and its body buried, and the ashes scattered in a pool, but the natives do not like to kill it, if they can help it. The Bechuana also killed plovers (*Stephanibyx melanopterus*) and threw their bodies

into pools. These birds often call before rain, especially in the evening, and this may have suggested the idea that it had some connection with the rain.

The rain-maker would sometimes send the men to hunt and capture an animal of a certain colour, usually rather uncommon. He knew quite well that the people would have a long and tedious hunt, and this would give him time to prepare some other kind of excuse, if the rain did not come in the meantime. When the hunters had secured the animal, he would often reject it because it was defective in some way, it might have been injured or it might not be quite the right colour and so on. The hunters would have to go off again. This gave the rain-maker still more time to prepare his excuses for the delay of the rain.

An old Christian native of Bechuanaland told me that when he was a little boy, he remembered seeing some girl children buried up to their necks in the ground, whilst their mothers kept up a dismal howling calling *Pula! Pula!* (Rain! Rain!) all the time; these children nearly died of thirst and exposure, as the weather was intensely hot. He did not remember if there was plenty of rain afterwards. It has been asserted that the old Bachuana used to offer human sacrifices in times of national peril or extremity. I cannot confirm this statement. Any person that I questioned on the matter denied that there had been such a custom. There is however a suspicion that the neophytes during the initiation ceremonies are given human flesh to eat, but it is so charred and disguised that they do not detect it. Bechuana are unwilling to admit the former existence of such practices, and they may have died out long ago, so that the remembrance of them is forgotten.

Human sacrifice for rain is still practised among the Makaranga of Rhodesia, and other Central African tribes such as the Banyoro. The recent case of human sacrifice for rain at Mount Darwin is a case in point. It has attracted a great deal of attention and interest. Amongst the Makaranga the usual ceremonies for rain are as follows:—

The protecting spirit of the village is called *Mondoro*, and there is always a medium or witchdoctor through which he speaks. Beer is brewed in large quantities by the women who are past child bearing, and this, together with an offering of cattle with dark spots, is taken to the rainmaker who may be either man or woman. He or she takes the beer to a hollow rock, with which some parts of the country abound, especially in the granite areas, and calls upon the *Mondoro* to send rain. The cattle must be sacrificed by men who have begotten children. These cattle are killed in a special enclosure,



After the sacrifice the young men are allowed to enter. The gall bladders of the cattle are cut out. The rain-maker anoints himself or herself with some of the contents, and then sprinkles the remainder, mixed with medicine, over the men who have assisted at the sacrifice. Sometimes a portion of the gall is drunk. Should the rain not come in answer to the sacrifice, the rain-maker may give out that the colour of the cattle was unacceptable to the *Mondoro*, or the owner of the cattle is unfriendly to him. Thus the sacrifice must be performed over again. If this is unsuccessful the rain-maker will excuse himself by saying that some one is working against him, and a smelling out of the wizard will be the result, ending in the death of the victim. In the case of the libation of beer if the rain does not come, the medium will be asked to call up the spirit of the *Mondoro*, and ask him who has done the wrong that the rain does not come. The medium will retire to the hut, and the people wait outside for the *Mondoro's* spirit to enter him. He comes out in a highly excited state, and tells them that they have offended the *Mondoro*, and that a sacrifice of cattle must be made again. If rain does not come in answer to this, human sacrifice may be resorted to. This is certain to produce rain.

Before describing this sacrifice, it is necessary to say something further on the religious beliefs of the Makaranga as these will help to explain it. The Makaranga believe in a great spirit which they, in different parts of the country, call *Mwari Temba* or *Chikara*, the first being the most common name. He is a passive spirit and does not actively intervene in the everyday life of the people, but he retains the control of the weather and can send or withhold rain. He can be influenced by the *Wadzimu* or ancestral spirits, mainly the spirits of departed chiefs. The spirit of a chief never really dies, but may assume the form of a lion, hence he is popularly, but incorrectly known as "The Lion God". He reveals himself through a medium or what we call a witchdoctor, who conciliates him by means of cattle sacrifices. These are performed at the residence of his oldest surviving descendant, or at the place where he had his residence in life, even though it may have been abandoned. The descendant of the ancestral chief gathers his relatives and friends together for the sacrifice. They do not go at once to his grave, but collect in the early morning in the bush where an enclosure of poles has been made, the inside of which is strewn with the green branches of trees. A bull that has been previously consecrated, by a prayer uttered by the witchdoctor, to the ancestor, is then killed and the meat placed within the en-



closure. The ancestral spirit is informed that the meat is there for him. Afterwards it is taken to the kraal and cooked. It is brought back to the enclosure together with porridge, and laid on the branches. The descendant of the ancestral spirit then announces the sacrifice to him, and implores him to send the rain, that his children so much need.

The Makaranga believe in the immortality and, to a certain extent, in the reincarnation of the ancestral spirit, in whose honour they claim to have performed human sacrifices for rain for a long time. *Mwari*, the Great Ancestral Spirit, is married, and his wife must always be a virgin. A young girl is taken and set apart as his wife. She is supposed to have power with her husband in the control of the weather. Long ago according to the Makaranga, *Mwari* became a man, and took to himself a wife from the Mtawara tribe under a chief named Gaza living in what is called now Portuguese territory. She was called Nchekiswa and was a daughter of Gaza. *Mwari* did not pay the bride price in cattle for her, but gave a promise to make rain when required in lieu of this. *Mwari* brought Nchekiswa from Gaza's place and gave her into the charge of a chief whose name was Chigango. This name was borne by one of the defendants in the recent trial. Chigango was the chief of a section of the Mtawara tribe living in what is now the Darwin district of Southern Rhodesia.

In Chigango's country there is a small hill called Nhenene, within a grove of trees called *Miti mchena* or the white Trees. These groves figure prominently in the Makaranga beliefs. One is struck with the resemblance of this to the sacred groves mentioned in the Old Testament as characteristic of the religion of the Canaanites, though any distinct connection between the Makaranga and them is most improbable. Within the circle of trees huts were built and there Nchekiswa lived and died in perpetual virginity. As one Nchekiswa died another succeeded her, so that the succession was never broken, and *Mwari* always had a wife who bore the name of Nchekiswa, and she had guardians who always bore the name of Chigango. But *Mwari* had also another wife, who was called Mashongavudzi. She was the senior of the two, was past childbearing, and took precedence of Nchekiswa. It is interesting that this title is borne at the present day by a woman who is chieftainess of a portion of these Mtawara people. It is thus an inherited title like Nchekiswa or Chigango. As soon as Nchekiswa became the wife of *Mwari* she had to take up her residence at this hill of Nhenene.

*Mwari* thus had two wives one old and the other young. If the young wife, devoted to perpetuate virginity, is unchaste *Mwari* is

offended and withholds the rain. This was alleged to have happened at Mount Darwin. The country was in the grip of a dreadful drought, and presents were sent by the guardian Chigango to Nhenene to appease Mwari, but still he did not send the rain. A victim had to be sacrificed. The fiction was started that Nchekiswa had been seduced, and the seducer must be sacrificed. There is doubt as to this being actually true, but the natives believed it. The next move was to find the guilty person. From private information given to me by Sir Clarkson Tredgold, late Senior Judge of Southern Rhodesia, who tried the case, this is shortly what took place :—Mwari, as aforesaid, has a high priest, in this case named Kimoti, who is the incarnation of Mwari, and who appears to have prompted the sacrifice, though he was not brought to trial. When the investigation into the case was held, a regular place of sacrifice was discovered with five altars.

In former days, as amongst the natives of the Congo or the old Greeks, any wandering stranger was sacrificed. Since the occupation of the country by the Europeans the choice had to be secret. In 1917 when there was drought, one of Chisereri's children, a headman of Chigango, was sacrificed. Again in 1922 there was a severe drought. The position was rendered acute by the failure of the crops and consequent hunger amongst the people. Something had to be done to bring rain for the next season. As usual offerings failed to appease Mwari, and no rain came. Mwari's wife had been seduced, so said the high priest, and the seducer must be found and sacrificed. Manduza, the second son of Chigango, was accused of being the guilty party. Why he was selected it is not clear, but Kimoti the High priest must have suggested him. Chigango showed natural hesitation about sacrificing his own son, but after some hesitation agreed to proceed and handed over Manduza, who was of weak intellect, to Chisereri for sacrifice. The victim had to be arrested. He must not be alarmed lest he should flee to the white men for protection. About 70 men came from the surrounding district and occupied Manduza's kraal at dead of night. Manduza may have had some inkling of their errand for he set fire to his hut in order to escape. He was caught and bound, though his wife got away and afterwards informed the authorities, and the murder thus came to light.

Manduza after being captured was bound in a peculiar manner in preparation for the sacrifice. The binding consisted of a long sash with a streamer. Thus bound he was carried before Chigango, who handed him over to Chisereri for sacrifice, and told off four priests

to carry it out. Manduza was carried by these men about two miles, and was then placed on his feet and made to walk the remaining distance to the sacrifice, while the streamer of the sash was held by one of the men. The other three walked behind, while the main body kept out of sight. The place of sacrifice bore the euphonious name of *Nyama Kungwa*, or Crow's Meat. One of the sacrificial priests held Manduza by the sash, while the other three gathered firewood, built a pyre, and then took him and bound him to a pole and laid him upon it. More wood was then cut and piled on until Manduza was completely covered. He made no attempt to resist. The wood was most carefully arranged according to ritual so that the smoke would ascend to heaven in one great column, and bring down the rain. Then, with prayers and incantations to Mwari, fire was applied to the pile. The fire was produced by fire drill in the native way as the use of European matches was forbidden. All these acts were highly symbolical and ritualistic, or the sacrifice would have been unavailing. Manduza gave a couple of cries as the fire took hold upon him, and was left to the devouring flames. The sacrifice was successful and rain fell heavily that night.

This was the third occasion upon which a victim had been sacrificed in recent years, without the government being aware of it. In this case Manduza's wife and brother had some doubts about the legality of the proceedings. They informed the authorities, and Chigango, Chisereri and a number of others were brought to trial. Chigango and Chisereri were sentenced to death, and the others to various terms of imprisonment. These men could not comprehend why they should be tried and sentenced for what was to them a religious ceremony which their fore-fathers had practised for generations when in need of rain. The case created a painful impression amongst the white inhabitants of Rhodesia, as they thought that such barbarous customs had long been abandoned, or that the Government was sufficiently alert to prevent them. These people it was stated had come into British territory from Portuguese East Africa, but a portion of the tribe has resided near the scene of the sacrifice since the occupation of the country by Europeans.

Amongst the Nilotic Kavirondo there is a ritual for rainmaking that bears a considerable degree of resemblance to the Makaranga custom. Here again human sacrifice plays an important part. The ancestral spirit of these people is *Kahango* who lives in a deep pit in their country called Kahango's Pit, just as the Umlimo of the Matebele is supposed to live in a deep and dark cave in the Matopo hills. A priest of Kahango dwells in the hole with him, as also does a priest



in the cave of the Umlimo. When rain is wanted in the Kavirondo country a victim is chosen by means of divination. He is generally a cripple or one mentally deficient. When chosen he is carried to the hole by men told off for the purpose from a special clan whose privilege it is to perform this office. They take with them a goat as a sacrifice to the Great Spirit. The victim is laid bound at the edge of the hole together with the goat. Then the people cry out :

*"You Kahango, it is you that is keeping the rain from falling, we are thirsty. Please accept this offering from us and send the rain. If you are not keeping the rain off then give this man strength in his legs to walk back to us."* The people retire to some distance and wait to see if the man will come back to them. They usually keep out of sight. If he does not return, they look to see if he is there, or has been drawn into the pit. It is very rarely that the victim comes back. When the people see that the victim has disappeared they slaughter an ox and eat the flesh. What happens is that the priest drags the victim into the pit and kills him. The people are not allowed to look lest Kahango might be angry. Kahango is the priest. The Kavirondo say that this method is certain to bring rain, and they resort to it when all other means fail. When the crops are reaped a portion is presented to Kahango and the priest in gratitude for sending the rain. It is the same amongst the Mtawara of Rhodesia. After the crops were reaped, Chigango as keeper of the wife of Mwari made an offering to Mwari through her. Until this was done it was not lawful to eat the crops. Amongst the old Basuto it was unlawful to eat the crops until an offering had been made to the ancestral spirits by the chief rain-maker. The same custom prevails amongst all Bantu tribes of which I have any knowledge.

What is behind human sacrifice for rain ? Just the same idea as in other countries where it was practised, that the offering of the human body made in the image of the gods is most welcome of all sacrifices to them, and most likely to appease them. Contrary to what is commonly supposed, the practice of sacrifice enters largely into the Bantu conception of religion. Human sacrifice was far more widely extended amongst the Bantu in the past than now, and was probably quite common in South Africa. There are hints of the custom amongst various tribes, such as the Zulus and Bechuana. Latterly, when human sacrifices were discontinued, images of human beings would be burnt or thrown into rivers as an offering to the ancestral spirits in time of drought that they might send rain<sup>(3)</sup>.

(3) Information supplied by a witch-doctor, Monyani, and the late Rev. D. F. Ellenberger.



Probably if we were able to go far back enough we should find that human sacrifices was the fountain head from which all other sacrifices for rain came. The curious part of human sacrifice for rain is that it prevails not amongst those Bantu whom we consider lowest in their religious conceptions, but amongst those that have a fairly high conception of religion and a much more elaborate ritual in connection therewith than the others.

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## CORRESPONDENCE

To the Editor, *Bantu Studies*.

### THE ORIGIN OF *SECWANA*

Sir,

The origin and meaning of the word Secwana have always been disputable subjects; several theories have been advanced but none of them, as far as the writer is aware, has been accepted as satisfactory. The object of writing this short article is to seek for enlightenment and not to enlighten a journal of the standing of the *Bantu Studies* on the subject.

First, the spelling of the word was for a long time, I am not sure that it is not still so, left to the discretion of the writer, so that we met Setjuana, Setjoena, and Sechuana, all which we can safely say have been discarded, except in Government official books and some maps wherein Sechuana and Bechuana are current spellings; and also Se-coana and Sechoana, which have been supplanted by Secwana and Sechwana of the new orthography. The former of the two last is in common use.

As regards the orthography of Secwana: (a) Some have advanced the theory that it was derived from the verb *cwana* (to fall out), from which we can legitimately infer that the Becwana were so mutually distrustful as to allow themselves to be daubed with this term of opprobrium. In spite of its containing an element of etymological vestige the proposition is a highly-questionable thesis. (b) Others have connected its origin with *chwana* (feminine form of *ncho*, black)—not *chwaana*, white female animal. As *chwana* is very frequently used as a term of endearment and praise, as in "*Motho eo mo chwana*" (a light dark person), its advocates affirm with some reasonable probability that the plural of "*Batho ba ba chwana*" formed an easy stepping-stone to *Bachwana*, and that a slip of the tongue (and there are many instances of such slips) in an attempt to evolve a softer and therefore more pleasant sound gave birth to *Becwana*. This theory stands on the strong bedrock of the language, in that many *Secwana* nouns of this type are combinations of the pronominal words and the adjectives. For instance, "*Batho ba ba shweu*" people who are white, was shortened into *Bashweu*. But still it sounds somewhat far-fetched. (c) A third school of theories advances the possibility of the word having been derived from "*chwana*" to resemble one another, and contend it originated at the time European missionaries and travellers came into contact with the Becwa-

na during the early part of the last century. Asking a Morolong, for instance, what people lived ahead and what they were, a traveller might have been told, "*Bangwaketse, ba chwana le rona*" (*Bangwaketse*, they resemble us). This theory has a tinge of historical probability, though the fact, as far as the writer knows, that none of those who write with authority on this subject has authenticated it bars it from being universally accepted as a reliable thesis. If however we eliminate the possibility of the word owing to its origin and first usage to foreigners and assume that the natives coined it, then we are forced to admit that, strictly speaking, it ought to be *Bachwani*, and not *Bachwana*, because nouns formed from the *-na* (ending) species of the verb end in "*-ni*", i.e. when such nouns are formed by combining *ba* with the verb, and the writer knows of no exceptions. Here are a few of the most important, : *bona see*, *baboni* : *gana* refuse, *bagani* ; *rakana* meet, *barakani*.

But after groping about in this perplexing jungle of theories and speculations, which we leave much dejected because we failed to discover a solution to our problem, we emerge only to be confronted by another distinctive enigma. Why should we say *Becwana*, and not *Bacwana*, and worse still, *Bechwana*, and not *Bachwana*? (*Secwana* and *Sechuana*, be it noted, are correct). One is tempted to call it an etymological freak and a travesty of the *Secwana* grammatical principles. We ought to have *Bacwani* (the quarrellers), and *Bachwani* (the resemblers) ; which *Bachwana* (blackish people) changed into *Bechuana* is phonologically inadmissible. Except that *be* in *Becwana* affords a more pleasant and easier slide of the organs of speech from *be* to *cwana*, than it is from *ba* to *cwana*, there seems to be nothing in the language to account for it. None of the *Becwana* tribes begins its cognomen, as far as the writer knows, with *be* ; and yet we call the nation *Be-cwana*.

After trying many theories without avail, I fell across one which seems to have some connection with the origin of this word. *Amaxosa* call us *Abetswana*. It seems possible that someone who knew *Sixosa*, but very little *Secwana* might have used the word first. The *Becwana* are expert corrupters of words whose significance they do not fully understand, or such as they have reason to believe are ridiculous, questionable, doubtful or foreign ; and so it would follow that once they heard a *Moruti* or traveller say "*Becwana*", it would be a joke, (and jokes speedily become fashions of the day which in turn are easily perpetuated) and they would indulge in a sportive or wanton use of it. The change from *Betswana* to *Becwana* is easily accounted for, as our first books were printed in *Setlhaping* and *Serolong*.

D. M. Ramoshoana.



The Editor,

*Bantu Studies*—

Dear Sir,

### LAMBA PHONETICS

Since the publication in your journal in July 1927, of my paper on Lamba Phonetics, I have found in Lamba an extremely important phonetic distinction, which should have been mentioned. In §23 I dealt with the Palatal Nasal *n*, but omitted in the previous paragraph to point out that the combination of the alveolar nasal *n* with the semi-vowel *j* also takes place. Lamba thus has *n* and *nj*, and the distinction is very important. All noun prefix forms have *n*, e.g. *ipanje*, as do first person subjectival and objectival verb concords, e.g. *nimbe*: while all causative verb suffixes have *nj*, e.g. *palanja*. But the distinction may even be semantic in force, and here great care is necessary in the distinction, e.g., *ipa*, 'yes', but *inja*, 'that which excretes'.

This addition should be made to § 22; and in § 32 the occurrence of the semi-vowel *j* with *n*, *t* (as *tj*), *f*, *p*, etc. should be noted. § 60 section (iv) should be modified so that both *n* and *ny* may be used.

I am,

Yours faithfully,

C. M. Doke.



## REVIEWS

TEXT BOOK OF ZULU GRAMMAR. By C. M. Doke, M. A.,  
D. Litt. (University of Witwatersrand. Press, Johannesburg) 341 pp. 6/6.

This is a book the need for which all serious students of the Zulu language have felt for a long time. Those who have made a study of the language by the aid of any or all of the existing grammars do not get very far before they discover their inadequacy and their inconsistencies. With the possible exception of Dr. Bleek's fragment, which does not proceed beyond the Noun Concord, there has been no proper appreciation of the Concord and its influence on all parts of speech. The concord, as treated in this book, makes clear the essential unity running through the whole structure of Zulu. Former writers were vaguely aware of this unity, but that they did not perceive its full import is shown by the fact that they only dealt with parts of it. Take, for example, the treatment of the Relative, which amongst existing grammars is best explained in Colenso. Even he, however, did not look upon it as possessing a Concord, but in order to explain clearly what he meant he referred the student to the *English* relative clause. He was explaining it from an English point of view, and herein lies the great difference between Dr Doke and as forerunners in that they treated Zulu from the European standpoint, while he adopts a Zulu attitude.

Exceptions to the rule, that refuge of the amateur grammarian, are conspicuous by their paucity in the book before us, and this is largely due to the phonetic basis upon which the author builds. Instead of being exceptions to rules, such phonetic changes as take place are shown to be following definitely recognised phonetic laws, the instance of prepalatalization being a good example of this. The thoroughness with which Dr Doke has approached Zulu from the Zulu point of view is seen in his elimination of "Case" from the treatment of the Noun. This throwing over of a hoary tradition, bolstered by the argument that because all the European classical languages have "Case" therefore Zulu must also contain it, will probably be severely criticised in some quarters, but the author need not be disturbed, for why should the form be retained when it has no function, and in Zulu "Case" has neither meaning nor function.

Another of the features of the book is the adoption of the conjunctive method of writing. Controversy has raged round this point for many a long day, and the advocates of either method were able to point to inconsistencies in the other, the fact being that neither the disjunctivists nor the conjunctivists had discovered a consistent method. Dr Doke, by his definition of a word having "one and only one main stress" has given us a rule which the writer has so far found infallible. This means that such syllables as by the disjunctive system were written separately cannot be treated as words unless they possess a main stress, and by this simple determination a consistency is arrived at which was formerly lacking in both methods.

This naturally leads to the conclusion that only complete words can be treated as parts of speech, and from this springs the necessity for an entirely new grammatical classification, which is probably the most outstanding achievement of the book. For instance, under the heading of Qualificatives we get Adjectives, Relatives and Possessives, while under Predicatives we get Verbs and Copulatives. The term "Qualificative" indicates their function while the terms "Adjective", "Relative" and "Possessive" connote the form in which these parts of speech appear. Under the new classification we get eleven parts of speech.

A further feature which will strike the reader is the author's treatment of the "Radical". It has sometimes been called an "*ukuti* verb" and is very often onomatopoeic. It is regarded by Dr Doke as a part of speech and defined as a word which "describes a predicate in respect to manner, sound, colour, or action". He has collected a large and interesting number of these words, and classified them according to syllable and tone. Then again the author has made an attempt at an explanation of the syntax of Zulu which students will find very helpful.

However, one of the most interesting chapters is that dealing with the phonetical structure of the language, and this being the basis for a good many of the author's conclusions it should be studied with special care. In this chapter stress, length and tone are all explained, and its perusal brings home to one the importance of the role that tone plays in Zulu, the meaning of many parts of speech being differentiated by tone alone.

Throughout the work Dr Doke has used a modified form of phonetic script which, once mastered, makes the correct pronunciation of Zulu easy and completely accurate. The more one reads the book the more one is impressed by the importance of this scientific contribution to the study of Zulu. It marks an epoch for the



Zulu people and they owe Dr Doke a debt of gratitude for having so skilfully formulated and set out their most musical and expressive language. Considering the fact that so much new ground has been broken and in consequence so much explanatory and illustrative material has had to be included, it is a marvel of compactness.

D. McK. Malcolm.

UCAKIJANA BOGCOLOLO. By A. H. S. Mbata and G. C. S. Mdhladhla, pp. 91, 1/9 net. (London: Simpkin, Marshall Hamilton, Kent & Co., Ltd. 1927).

This little book is very welcome. Zulu has hitherto been sadly backward in the foundation of its native literature. Hardly anything apart from the works of Fuze and Lamula has been written by native Zulus. Hence this little collection in Zulu of the myths of Cakijana, some of them well known to students of folklore, most of them well known to the Zulus, is most opportune. We are glad to see that the authors are two Zulu teachers. It is this body of men and women to whom we look for the much needed research into Zulu custom, history, folk-lore and language and for the recording of what it is almost impossible for the European investigator to secure.

The book is very well got up, with photographic illustrations, and will prove useful not only in Zulu schools, but also to Europeans learning the language.

C. M. D.

A FIRST SWAHILI BOOK. By A. and M. Werner, pp. 127 5/- net. (London: The Sheldon Press, Northumberland Avenue, W. C. 2. 1927).

Professor Alice Werner, Professor of Swahili and Bantu at the School of Oriental Studies, who is best known perhaps for her "Language Families of Africa", and "The Bantu Languages", books dealing with comparative philology, is an acknowledged specialist in Swahili, the Bantu language with which she is best acquainted. In this present publication she is associated with her sister, Miss Mary Werner, who some little time ago gained her Diploma in Swahili at the School of Oriental Studies. "A first Swahili Book" supplies a long-felt need by those who have tried to acquire a knowledge of Swahili: a need which must have been felt by Professor Werner herself in conducting her classes. Swahili is well supplied with dic-

tionaries, particularly those of Krapf and Madan. In literature it is particularly rich, and a great amount of material is found there for the more advanced student. But for the beginners there has hitherto been no adequate book -- at least in English -- and we have nothing but praise for the book before us, which is stimulating in its interest and helpfulness. We can most heartily commend it to everyone desiring to study Swahili. The phonetic portions contributed by Mr. A. Lloyd James constitute a valuable addition.

It is to be hoped that this most helpful book will in time be followed by a regular scientific grammar of the Language. Steere's work, which is admirable in many ways, is too slight for deep study: it contains but 110 pages of grammatical matter out of all its 460 pages. Miss Werner's knowledge of Swahili grammar and syntax is such that we hope she will be able to make this additional contribution to our knowledge of Bantu.

C. M. D

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# THE IZIBONGO OF THE ZULU CHIEFS

By the Rev. E. W. GRANT.

The collection of these "Izibongo" was made possible by a financial grant from the Research Committee of the Bantu Studies Department of the University of the Witwatersrand. The work was suggested by Dr. C. M. Doke, Senior Lecturer of the Department, to whose advice and help the writer is greatly indebted. Valuable assistance in the arrangements for the necessary field-work was given by Mr. D. McK. Malcolm, Chief Inspector of Native Education in Natal, and by the Rev. L. E. Oseroff, Principal of the Zululand National Training Institution, and their kindness is gratefully acknowledged. The writer also records his indebtedness to Mr. D. Q. Ntuli (of the Staff of the Zululand National Training Institution) who acted as interpreter, and to Mr. Frank Nxele, of Johannesburg, for valuable help in the checking of translations, and for information on a number of points in connection with which his name is mentioned in the explanatory notes published herewith.

## INTRODUCTION

### 1. *Meaning of "izibongo"*

The word "isibongo" (plural "izibongo") is derived from the Zulu verb "ukubonga", whose meaning is a wide one. It is defined by Bryant as follows:—"To praise, extol, a person or thing; the Zulu manner of expressing one's gratitude being to 'praise' the giver or his gift—hence, give thanks; thank a person for something; thank for a thing; his abject reverence, submission, &c., being manifested in a similar way—hence, worship, offer sacrifice to, pray to, as to the amaDhlozi or ancestral spirits." The same authority shows two distinct meanings of the derived noun, "isibongo". "Tribal or clan name; name of praise, given to a young man by his comrades; plural izibongo,—praises of a person, cow, dog, &c.—every native, and especially chiefs, has a number of these praise-phrases coined for him by others, and which are often added on to his name by way of a distinction."

On the same page of his Dictionary, Bryant has a note on the first meaning of the word. It is with the second that we are concerned, i.e. with "Izibongo" as the term denoting the "Praises" of the Zulu Chiefs; in which connection the word has reference to certain dramatic poems whose form is more or less stabilised, and whose interest, both from a linguistic and an historical view-point, is considerable.

## 2. *The Imbongi*

Attached to the court of the Chief was an important official whose profession was the recording of the praise-names, victories, and laudable characteristics of his master<sup>1</sup>. These "praises" were recited on any occasion which seemed to call for public adulation of the chief, such as the defeat of his enemies, the approach of distinguished visitors, the distribution of royal bounty, and so forth. As the years have passed the praises of a particular chief have tended toward a set and recognised expression, though, as will be noted later, absolute verbal immutability does not seem to have been definitely sought after. There must have occurred frequently scenes reminiscent of that portrayed in Scott's "Waverley", when the bard of the house of Vich Ian Vohr declaims to the assembled feasters the story of its greatness, and is rewarded by his chief. One is also reminded of that immortal passage in Ecclesiasticus, beginning "Let us now praise famous men, And our fathers that begat us."

## 3. *Mode of Reciting*

This was demonstrated to the writer by a well-known imbongi. The old man appeared clad in a leopard-skin, and wearing around his temple a garland of the small bladders of animals. He carried his shield and his long, carved stick. As the recital proceeded the imbongi became worked up to a high pitch of fervour, and was evidently living again in the glories of the past. His voice became loud and strong, his face was uplifted. Shield and stick would be suddenly raised and shaken in the air. Gestures became more and more frequent and dramatic. The reciter would leap in the air, or crouch with glaring eyes, whilst the praises poured from his lips, until he stopped exhausted. It was noticeable that, apart from the clear emphasis on the penultimate syllable of each word, additional emphasis fell periodically on the penultimates of certain words, each of which would be followed by a perceptible pause. Thus the poem was broken up into short phrases, each of which appeared to be uttered with one breath. A magnificent rhythm was in this way apparent to the hearer; and an effort has been made to preserve this in the "lines" of the praises as here recorded, the penultimate syllable of each line receiving added emphasis.

## 4. *Method of recording*

During the short time available for research into this subject, contact was established with several old men in the Nongoma District

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(1) This office is still in existence, though in a modified form.



of Zululand. Two of these men made valuable contributions. The first was Gwebisa, who belonged to the Mandhlakazi section of the Zulu nation. He was an imbongi of Zibebu, the great Mandhlakazi chief. As a young man Gwebisa fought at Isandlwana in 1879, in the Kandempemvu regiment. An article in the "*Izindaba Zabantu*" of February 15th., 1914, states that this regiment was formed in 1867 of men born about twenty years earlier. Gwebisa was thus about eighty years of age when the research was undertaken (1927). He contributed the Izibongo of Shaka and of Zibebu.

Mvingana was of the Usutu section. He had belonged to the uVe regiment, founded by Cetshwayo in 1874 (vide "*Izindaba Zabantu*"). His age at the time of research would be about seventy-four. Mvingana was an imbongi of Dinuzulu, and still officiates in a similar capacity on behalf of Dinuzulu's successor. He contributed the Izibongo of Senzangakona, Dingana, Mpande, Cetshwayo, and Dinuzulu.

Dictaphone records were first taken, the imbongi reciting into the mouth piece of the instrument. Then, line by line, the poem was reduced to writing, being checked by the dictaphone record and by the imbongi himself. A rough translation was made on the spot, so that the old men might be questioned respecting any obscurities. The more careful translation, with annotations, has been since completed.

### 5. *Characteristics of the poems*

The stately rhythm and dramatic power of the Izibongo, together with their picturesque and forceful imagery, raise them above the level of prose. Many of the more figurative passages are allusions to events which cannot be traced at this distance of time. The use of "praise-names" expressive of certain attributes of the chiefs are reminiscent of the usage adopted in such books as "*The Pilgrim's Progress*," "*Greatheart*" and similar titles have their counterparts in the names which embellish these lines. Puns are not infrequent. The language is often intensely idiomatic and therefore difficult of translation. The elision of final vowels is often in evidence. It has been impossible to discover in history any reference to many of the names of persons, kraals, and so on, though it is probable that a long sojourn amongst the people might clear up many of these obscurities, and might conceivably light up some of the darker by-ways of Zulu history.

It did not appear that an imbongi of necessity reproduced the praises of a particular chief always in the same way. The quantity of material is much larger than that here recorded. The Izibongo of Shaka, for instance, would not always be begun at the same place.

The various sections might not follow in the same order, and some might be omitted, or new ones introduced. Slight verbal differences might also occur.

#### 6. *The Historical Background*

The Izibongo here recorded cover the complete line of Zulu kings from Senzangakona, father of Shaka, to Dinuzulu, father of the present chief, Solomon. A genealogical table, following that of Bryant in the introduction to his Dictionary, with approximate dates of birth, is appended for reference. Omitting unnecessary detail, we may remind ourselves that Senzangakona ruled over a comparatively small clan, a fragment of a larger tribe, and known as "the people of Zulu." Senzangakona was born "probably about 1760" (Bryant). His son, Shaka, grew up with his mother's people of the eLangeni clan. There are many conflicting stories of Shaka's early years which need not be dealt with here. He assumed the chieftainship of the Zulu people at Senzangakona's death, about 1810. Shaka was the real founder of the Zulu nation, and the doings of this military genius are familiar to all students of South African history. At his death the Zulus were a powerful nation whose name was feared throughout the southern part of the Continent. Shaka was assassinated in 1828 by his brother, Dingana, and others.

Dingana succeeded to the chieftainship, and after a reign of twelve years, in which he carried on the terrible traditions of Shaka, was killed in an expedition to Swaziland. He was followed by a third brother, Mpande, who, assisted by the Boers, had been in rebellion against him. Mpande's reign was longer, and much more peaceable. He died in 1872, and was succeeded by his son, Cetshwayo. In 1879 Cetshwayo was removed from power by the British. He was restored to a portion of his kingship in 1883, and died in the following year. Dinuzulu, his son and successor, also came into conflict with the British authorities, and was banished for ten years. He was allowed to return to his country, and on his death was succeeded by his son Solomon, who, with limited powers, now resides near Nongoma as the Chief of the Zulu people.

Mapita, a cousin of Shaka, occupied during the reign of the latter a territory to the north-east of Nongoma. His son, Zibebu, played a great part in Zulu history. During the reign of Cetshwayo the cleavage between the Usutu (that section of the people which was loyal to the reigning house) and the Mandhlakazi (the followers of Zibebu) became acute, and at last developed into open warfare. An epic of Zulu history is Zibebu's descent upon Ulundi, Cetshwayo's royal kraal, followed by the destruction of the kraal and the flight

of Cetshwayo, in 1883. The quarrel continued to burn fiercely during the reign of Dinuzulu, until the settlement imposed by the British when Dinuzulu was removed. Even in these days of peace the line of division between Usutu and Mandhlakazi is clearly defined. It is therefore of interest to be able to record the Izibongo of Zibebu as proclaimed by an imbongi who officiated at the court of that doughty warrior.

It should be stated that in the original records obtained from Mvingana the pronunciation is that known as "tefula". The verb "ukutefula" means "to make to slide off" (Bryant), and the word is applied to the speech of certain clans along the coast of Zululand, who soften the "l" into "y". In the Izibongo as here transcribed, for the sake of clearness the ordinary Zulu pronunciation is substituted for the "tefula" one.

#### 7. *Previous recordings* <sup>1</sup>

A number of selections from various "Izibongo" of the Zulu Chiefs is found in the pages of the valuable series of collections of Zulu folklore, &c. by J. Stewart ("uTulasizwe", "uHlangakula", &c.) These appear in the Zulu text only. Samuelson, in the Introduction to his "King Cetshwayo Zulu Dictionary," records, with translations, "Izibongo" of Cetshwayo, Dinuzulu, and Solomon, son of Dinuzulu. In all of these occur phrases which are found, in other contexts, in the present collection.

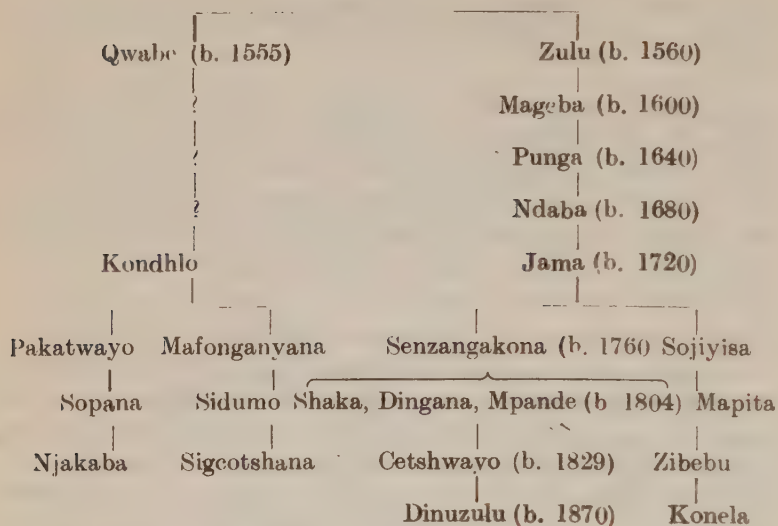
#### 8. *Bibliography, &c.*

Frequent reference is made in the explanatory notes to the following among other works, viz. Father Bryant's "Zulu English Dictionary" (especially the historical Introduction) and J. Y. Gibson's "Story of the Zulus". In order to avoid constant repetition of the titles of these works, reference to them is signified by the use of the names of the authors.

The English translations appear opposite to the Zulu text, the lines being correspondingly numbered. The number of the line referred to appears at the beginning of each note.

**GENEALOGY.** (See Bryant, Introduction, p 38).

Malandela (b. 1520)







**Izibongo zikaSenzangakona**

Ushay' amanzi kwavel' udaka ;  
 Emva kodaka kwavel' imihlambi yezinkomo ;  
 Igoda lakwaNobamba

5. Elihleze libahaq' amaqakalana,  
 Nabaseziteni nabasekaya.

Amanz' eMpembeni umntakaNdaba amany' angipi-  
 lele.

AnjengoTonsa waseSigezeni,  
 Owadabula pakati kweNtumeni neDhlinza.

10. Bamlabalabela abakwaButelezi.

UJama kangakanani,  
 Nasenhlamvini yemkont' angahlala.  
 OkaMjokwane kaNdaba kaBidi umateta ngezinyembe-  
 zi.

- BelinjengoPiko waseKuweleni ;  
 15. Inyati ehambiyengam' amazibuko,  
 EnjengoMzingeli kumaMfekane ;  
 Ozitebe zidlel' amancasakazi.

- Wadhl' umfaz' umkaSukuzwayo.  
 Kasomama kamama hamba simuke !  
 20. NgabawoSiquza ngabawoBidinkomo.  
 Umqingo wangat' itshe laseZihlalo,  
 Ebe lipepel' izindhlov' ubalipendule.

- Izibongo zenkosi zikaSenzangakona,  
 Ugingqinqi wayindhlovu yaseNkandhla ;  
 25. Igingqikis' abantu, babeka pantsi babeka pezulu ;  
 Banjengenyang' ipum' ezulwini,  
 Epume yabomvu eyeyamhlope it' isiyawushona ;  
 Yasiyawushona entshonalanga.

**Izibongo zikaShaka**

- OZihlandhlo noGwabe ngibasolile,  
 Inkos' abayitshelanga 'zibuko ;  
 Bayitshengis' elibi elisaconsamate ;  
 5. Lakobant' abakaMajola.  
 Udonse ngankalo wenyuka ngankalo ;  
 Wabuya ngoBoyiya kaMdakuda.

### The Praises of Senzangakona

He struck the water, there came forth mud ;  
 Aiter the mud came forth herds of cattle .  
 The rope of Nobamba

5. Which continually encircles them by the little ankles,  
 Even those with the enemies and those at home.

Water of M̄embeni, child of Ndaba, some is finished for me.

It is like Tonsa of Siguzeni,  
 Who passed between Ntumeni and Dhlinza.

10. They of Butelezi's longed for him.

Jama is not so big,

Even on the point of an assegai he can sit.

He, son of Mjokwane, son of Ndaba, son of Bidi, a  
 scolder with tears.

It was like Piko of Kuweleni ;

15. The buffalo which goes overshadowing the drifts,  
 Which is like Mzingeli of the amaMfekane ;  
 Whose eating-mats are used by the virgins.  
 . He devoured the wife of Sukuzwayo.

Cousin ! cousin ! go, let us away !

20. It is those of Siquza, it is those of Bidinkomo.  
 The big one, it was as if he were the stone of Zihlalo,  
 Which sheltered the elephants in bad weather.

The praises of the Chief, of Senzangakona,  
 The rolling one, as if he were the elephant of Nka-  
 ndhla ;

25. It rolled the people over, they looked down and looked  
 up ;

They were like the moon coming out in the sky,

Which came out red, and was white when it was  
 about to set ;

It went and set in the west.

### The Praises of Shaka.

I have blamed Zihlandhlo and Gwabe,  
 They did not tell the Chief of the drifts ;  
 They showed him a bad one which is still slippery ;

5. It was of the children of Majola.

He went up one ridge and another ;  
 He returned by Boyiya son of Mdakuda.

- Wadabul' ematanjeni abant'abakaTayi,  
 Kwaze kwaye kwamazam' ezingamaFongosi,  
 10. Ebezisengwa yindiki yakwaMavela.

Wadh! uNomahlanjana kaZwide,  
 Wadh! uMdandalazi kaGaqa emaPeleni ;  
 Wayendhlebe zimayence.

- Umkonto wake uyesabeka,  
 15. UWelukumabizwasabele !  
 Amakosan' abonina abebizw' iminyakanyaka !  
 Usixokolo singamatsh' aseNkandhla,  
 Abepepel' izindhlovu uma linile.

- Uklebe engimbon' ehla kuMangcengeza ;  
 20. Wati ekuPungashe wanyamalala.  
 Uhlasel' amahlathi avungama, ati ukuvungama,  
 Ati, uhlaule ngentshintsho nempunzikazi.  
 Ubonw' abazingeli abacupa izimbongolwana ;  
 Uvinjelwe yiqude ngapambili,  
 25. NgabakwaNtombazi nabakwaLanga.

- Wadh! uNomahlanjana kaZwide;  
 Wadh! uMdandalazi kaGaqa emaPeleni ;  
 Wayendhlebe zimayence.  
 Wadh! uMdandalazi kaGaqa emaPeleni ;  
 30. Wayendhlebe zimayence.

- Umxoshi wedala lako kaLanga.  
 UWewelukumabizwasabele !  
 UShaka !  
 Amakosan' abonina abebizw' iminyakanyaka  
 35. Usixokolo singamatsh' aseNkandhla.  
 Abepepel' izindhlovu uma linile.

- Ungabusasondela, Shaka kaNdaba !  
 Ungabusasondela kwezakwaNgoza !  
 Wayezalw' uMkubukeli ;  
 40. Ungakukang' upindele !

Ukozolubulamapikolapimihlambidhlakona !  
 Uxosh' uZwide kaLanga,  
 Waze waye wamshonisa pakati koBani ;



- He passed through the bones of the children of Tayi,  
Until (the cattle) of the amaFongosi were restless,
10. Which were milked by the mutilated-finger-man of  
Mavela's clan.
- He devoured Nomahlanjana, son of Zwide,  
He devoured Mdandalazi son of Gaqa of the amaPela ;  
He was lop-eared.
- His spear is terrible.
15. The Ever-ready-to-meet-any-challenge !  
The first-born sons of their mothers who were called  
for many years !  
He is like the cluster of stones of Nkandhla,  
Which sheltered elephants when it had rained.
- The hawk which I saw sweeping down from Mangce-  
ngeza ;
20. When he came to Pungashe he disappeared.  
He invades, the forests echo, saying, in echoing,  
He paid a fine of the duiker and the doe.  
He is seen by the hunters who trap the flying-ants ;  
He was hindered by a cock in front,
25. By the people of Ntombazi and Langa.
- He devoured Nomahlanjana son of Zwide ;  
He devoured Mdandalazi son of Gaqa of the amaPela ;  
He was lop-eared.  
He devoured Mdandalazi son of Gaqa of the amaPela ;
30. He was lop-eared.
- The Driver-away of the old man born of Langa's  
daughter !  
The Ever-ready-to-meet-any-challenge !  
Shaka !  
The first-born sons of their mothers who were called  
for many years !
35. He is like the cluster of stones of Nkandhla,  
Which sheltered elephants when it had rained.
- Do not approach further, Shaka son of Ndaba !  
Do not approach further those of Ngoza !  
He was born of Mkubukeli ;
40. Nevermore return !
- The Eagle-which-beats-its-wings-where-herds-graze !  
He drove away Zwide son of Langa,  
Until he caused him to disappear in the Ubani ;



- Until he crossed above Johannesburg and disappeared;  
 45. He crossed the Limpopo where it was rocky ;  
 Even though he left Pretoria with tears.  
 He killed the snake, he did not kill it in the summer,  
 He killed it when the winter had come.  
 Zihlandhlo and Gcwabe are wizards ;  
 50. They did not tell the Chief of the drifts ;  
 They showed him one which is still slippery,  
 By which Majola's people crossed until they died.  
 He went up by a ridge, he returned by another ;  
 When he returned he returned by Boyiya of Mdaku-  
 da's people ;  
 55. He passed between two hills.  
 He is like the cluster of stones of Nkandhla,  
 Which sheltered elephants when it had rained.  
 The hawk which was sweeping down above those  
 of Mangcengeza.  
 When he was above Pungashe he disappeared.  
 60. He is like the cluster of stones of Nkandhla.  
 Until (the cattle) of the amaFongosi were restless,  
 Which were milked by the mutilated-finger-man of  
 Mavela's clan.  
 The Ever-ready-to-meet-any-challenge,  
 Who devoured Nomahlanjana of the sons of Zwide,  
 65. Together with Mdandalazi of the sons of Gaqa of the  
 amaPela ;  
 He was lop-eared.  
 The Driver-away of the old man born of Langa's daugh-  
 ter, until he dashed wildly away ;  
 Because he drove the bull-calves, and they dashed  
 wildly away ;  
 He drove away Sikunyana,  
 70. While he was at iziNdololwane he returned and set-  
 tled below Nkandhla and Nqutu ;  
 When he had settled below the hill, he appeared.  
 He was seen between the iziNdololwane and the Po-  
 ngolo ;  
 He passed by Sikunyana ;  
 He welded together the Zulu nation, and appeared be-  
 tween Hlobane and Zungeni.  
 75. Until the sun set he rallied the regiments,  
 Until Zwide fled.  
 He rallied the regiments, they attacked ;

- Kwasekusal' uSikunyana lap' eZindololwane  
 Wasebuyebuy' ezakuye,  
 80. Wenyuke ngankalonde.

### Izibongo zikaDingana

- Izibongo zikaDingana,  
 ZikaNjunjuwasohlangeni,  
 ZikaSimakadesamakosi,  
 5. ZikaQambilankomobazilahlekile,  
 ZikaVez'odhlizinkom'ezivezayo ;  
 EzawoMandeko wakwaMlambo.  
 EzawoGuyuzana kaManaba.  
 Inkomo ekal' osizini,  
 10. Emva kukaNtlapo noMlambo ;  
 Izizwe zonke zizwil' umlomo,  
 Iyé yezwiw' amaNtungw' akwaKunalo.  
 Uyajabul' umfaz' oseMkumbane,  
 Obon' ihwanqa lakit' eMngungundhlovu.  
 15. Wadhl' uMzinyansasa ngaseMngungundhlovu ;  
 Wadhl' uPiti ngaseMngungundhlovu.  
 Isihlangu sikaMzilikazi sintule nendoda esicoshayo.  
 Weza noNgiyesaba kaMashobana ;  
 Weza noNozinyanga kaMashobana ;  
 20. Weza noNyakambi kaMashobana ;  
 Oze nezalukazi zizibili ;  
 Intsimba yomsil' ugaju ;  
 Yebo! kwaMashobana,  
 NoNgiyesaba kaMashobana.  
 25. Izibongo zikaNjunju !  
 Uvezi, kazimhlabang' izicwe eqonde pambili,  
 Ut' ebuya zazimnqum' amaqakalana.  
 UVez'ovezizinkom'ezivezayo.  
 EzawoMandeku kaMlambo,  
 30. EzawoGuyuzana kaManaba ;  
 Somkanda, ngokubakandanisa.  
 Udhl' amahwanq' emabili kungawamaBunu, uPiti no-  
 Pitolisi.  
 Isizib' esiseMavivane siyashon' ungat' uyageza ;  
 Waze washona nangesicoco ;  
 35. Usicoc' obezalwa kwaSodhlabini.



Then Sikunyana remained there at the iziNdololwane.  
Then he returned and came to him.

80. He went up the long ridges.

### The Praises of Dingana

- The praises of Dingana,  
Of Njunju of the Royal House,  
Of the Long-established-one of the chiefs,  
5. Of Herd-of-cattle-that-has-strayed,  
Of Vezi-who-devours-the-cattle-that-produce ;  
Those of Mandeko of the Mlambo,  
Those of Guyuzana son of Manaba.  
Beast which bellows on the ashes of the burnt grass,  
10. After Ntlapo and Mlambo ;  
All the tribes have heard its bellowing,  
Until it is heard by the amaNtungwa of the Kumalo.  
The woman at Mkumbane rejoices,  
Who sees our bearded man of Mngungundhlovu.  
15. He devoured Mazingansasa near Mngungundhlovu ;  
He devoured Piet Retief near Mngungundhlovu.  
The shield of Mzilikazi lacks even a man to take it up.  
He came with Ngiyesaba, child of Mashobana ;  
He came with Nozinyanga, child of Mashobana ;  
20. He came with Nyakambi, child of Mashobana ;  
Who came with two old women ;  
The civet cat with a long tail ;  
Yes! at Mashobana's,  
With Ngiyesaba, child of Mashobana.  
25. The praises of Njunju!  
Vezi, the Bushmen did not stab him when he went  
ahead,  
When he was returning they cut his little ankles.  
Vezi-who-produces-cattle-which-produce,  
Those of Mandeko son of Mlambo,  
30. Those of Guyuzana son of Manaba ;  
Somkanda, because he welds them together.  
He devoured two bearded men of the Boers, Piet and  
Pretorius.  
The pool at Mavivane is deep when you would  
bathe ;  
Until he sank even to the head-ring ;  
35. Head-ring who was born at Sodhlabini's.

Inkom' eyakal' osizini,  
 Emva kwaNtlapo noMlambo ;  
 Izizwe zonke ziyizwil' umlomo,  
 Iye yezwiw' amaNtungw' akwaKumalo.

40. Wash' owaseNsindeni ;  
 Wash' owaseNdinaneni ;  
 Wash' owaseMbekeleni.

- Izibongo zikaSomkanda ngokubakandanisa ;  
 ZikaJonononda ngentonga yezulu.  
 45. UVez' owahlasela ngodwendwe kwaMzilikazi ;  
 Waqamuka nodwendwe kungolwamaqikiza.

- Izibongo zikaNjunjuwasohlangeni,  
 ZikaDingana wakokaMpikase ;  
 Udingabant'emanxulumeni.  
 50. Isihlangu sikaMzilikazi sisal' entabende yeMpama ;  
 Kwaswelek' indod' esicoshayo.

- Weza noNgiyesaba kaMashobana ;  
 Weza noNozinyanga kaMashobana ;  
 Weza noNtombayi kaMashobana ;  
 55. Weza noNyakambi kaMashobana.

- Okuhle !  
 Okuhl' ihwanqa lakiti kwaMpikase,  
 Odingabant' emanxulumeni,  
 Kwaze kwas' amanxulum' ebikelana ;  
 60. Kubikelan' uMzilikazi kaMashobana,  
 NoSoshangan' obezalw' uSigode.  
 Yebo ! bambalekela !  
 Wash' owaseNtsingizini !

### Izibongo zikaMpando

- Nazo izibongo zikaMpando wakaNoziqubo,  
 UMsmiude owavela ngesiluba  
 Pakati kwamaNgisi namaQadasi ;  
 5. UNowelamuvawaoShaka !

Inkonjanedukelezulwini !  
 Vimbani ngazo zonk' izindhlela,  
 Nibikel' uKlwana waseMbongobongweni.  
 Ukozi lukaNdaba luzalel' ezimfundeni zoTukela !

- Beast which bellows on the ashes of the burnt grass,  
 After Ntlapo and Mlambo ;  
 All the tribes have heard its bellowing,  
 Until it is heard by the amaNtungwa of the Kumalo.
40. It burned, that of Nsindeni ;  
 It burned, that of Ndinaneni ;  
 It burned that of Mbekeleni.  
 The praises of Somkanda, because he welded them  
 together ;  
 Of Jonononda by the fighting-stick of thunder.
45. Vezi who invaded Mzilikazi's with a long train ;  
 He appeared with a long train of maidens.  
 The praises of Njunju of the Royal House,  
 Of Dingana, the offspring of Mpikase ;  
 The Lacker-of-people-in-the-big-kraals.
50. The shield of Mzilikazi remained on the high mount-  
 ain of Mpama ;  
 There was lacking a man to take it up.  
 He came with Ngiyesaba, child of Mashobana ;  
 He came with Nozinyanga, child of Mashobana ;  
 He came with Ntombayi, child of Mashobana ;
55. He came with Nyakambi, child of Mashobana.  
 Good fortune!  
 Good fortune, bearded one of our people, of Mpikase's,  
 Who lacks people in the big kraals,  
 Until at dawn the big kraals reported to one another ;
60. They report to one another, Mzilikazi, son of Ma-  
 shobana,  
 And Soshangana who was born of Sigode,  
 Yes, they fled from him!  
 It burned, that of Ntsingizini!

### The Praises of Mpande

- Here are the praises of Mpande of Noziqubo,  
 Sire who appeared by the head-crest  
 Between the British and the Boers ;
5. Crosser-after-them-of-Shaka!  
 Swallow-who-went-astray-in-the-sky!  
 Block ye by every path,  
 And report to Klwana of Mbongobongweni.  
 The Eagle of Ndaba lays in the meadows of the Tuke-  
 la!

10. Ngendaba kaMapita, yebo ' benoTokotoko,  
Owawela iMpofana, wahlala pantsi ;  
Kwamazama izinkomo,  
Yebo ! kungezamaSwazi !  
UMsutu ongubond' okwezendhlovu !
15. Ngubani ongamemez' uMdali?  
Abafazi bodwa bosale bedhl' imbuya,  
Yebo ! isemanxiweni !

- Isiyengane sikaNdaba,  
Siyengw' uNcagwana, yebo! benoMatunjana ;
20. Basiyenge ngamaqabi, yebo ! kungawezitole.  
UNozishat' ezalw' uMaqoboza pezu kwamaQongq'  
omabili ;  
Umbani liye lawuhlaba pezu kuMswazi ezalw' uSobuza  
Wadhl' uPahlapahla, yebo! kubeSutu ;  
Wamshaya pantsi, yebo ! koludumayo !
25. Uye wavunula kwaTandiwe, yebo ! endhlini ;  
Indhlu kaMswazi yasha !

- Indaba yeQongqo neQongqwana.  
UMsmiude owavela ngesiluba  
Pakati kwamaNgisi namaQadasi ;
30. Ubani ongamemez' uMdali?  
Abafazi bodwa bosale bedhl' imbuya,  
Yebo ! isemanxiweni !

- Wadhl' ingqungqulu ebizalw' uMpiko.  
Izigwayi zabola, yebo ! puhlu !
35. KubeSutu kwaSikwata.

Indaba yenziw' uNzobo obezalw' uSobahdli !  
Indaba yenziw' uKlwana obezalwa kwaZulu !  
Indaba yenziw' uMaqaqadoyo obezalwa kwaMalandela!  
Isilo esimnyama siyapukuzeka esakoSongiya.

### Izibongo zikaCetshwayo

- Eziseziteni kumankengane.  
Ngeqabi lako lasoNdini,  
Zibalekelw' umunt' obehamba ngendhlela ;
5. Zibalekelw' uMdhleleni kwabatwal' imvokwana.



10. Concerning the affair of Mapita, yes! together  
with Tokotoko,  
Who crossed the Mpofana and sat down;  
The cattle were restless,  
Yes! it was those of the amaSwazi!  
Msutu with a long blanket like an elephant's!
15. Who can call out to the Creator?  
Only the women will remain eating imbuya,  
Yes! it is in the deserted kraal-sites!  
The seducer of Ndaba,  
He is seduced by Ncagwana, yes! together with  
Matunjana ;
20. They seduced him by small herds, yes! of heifers.  
Nozishata, born of Maqoboza, above the two  
amaQongqo hills ;  
The lightning came and struck down above Mswazi,  
born of Sobuza.  
He devoured Pahlapahla, yes! of the Basuto ;  
He struck him down, yes! crushingly!
25. He went and adorned himself at Tandiwe's, yes!  
in the hut.  
The house of Mswazi burned!  
The affair of Qongqo and little Qongqo.  
Sire who appeared by the head-crest  
Between the British and the Boers ;
30. Who can call out to the Creator?  
Only the women will remain eating imbuya,  
Yes! in the deserted kraal-sites!  
He devoured the eagle which was born of Mpiko.  
The tobacco fields rotted, yes! even to pulp!
35. Among the Basuto of Sikwata's.  
The affair done by Nzobo, born of Sobadhli!  
The affair done by Klwana, born of Zulu!  
The affair done by Maqaqadolo, born of Malandela!  
The black leopard of Songiya's people is befooled.

### The Praises of Cetshwayo

- (The cattle) which are with the enemy, with those  
of no account.  
Concerning your drove of oNdini,  
They caused the traveller in the way to run from them ;
5. They caused Mdhleleni to run from them, who was of  
the baggage-carriers.

- Umemez' uNozidini kwabapesheya,  
 Wati, "Leyondhlovu yakiti kwaMalandela,  
 Ningayishayi ngesibamu ;  
 Ningayishaya nobe niyibangile ;
10. Ihlabeni ngamapand' imikonto nawezinhlendhla."
- Kuhlangen' abafana bebabili ;  
 Omunye ngowaseNdhlonhlweni, omunye ngowase-  
 Dikweni,  
 Izinyane kungelamaduna kungawakwaZulu.
- Indaba kaZiwedu, yebo ! benoHamu !
15. Bayiqal' oKuko, yebo ! beyivivinya ;  
 Yebo ! bet' umuzi uzaupuma kungowaseMangweni,  
 Wausisiteka, waunjengezinkomo.
- Gaqa limhlope lakwaBatonyile !  
 Ubixizele ngemvula kungeyomdumo,
20. Ngobudadewabo enguMbixabixa.
- UNomsimikwana obezalw' uBikwayo,  
 Wamshaya pantsi koludumayo ;  
 UNongalaza obezalw' uBusobengwe,  
 Wamshaya pantsi kuludumayo.
25. UMangqupe obezalw' eBatenjini,  
 UManqina obezalw' uNkontsheya,  
 Walupubuza uTukela ;  
 UJantoni obezalw' uMayidoni,  
 Wamshaya pantsi koludumayo.
30. Wasandhl' esabula epangweni lendoda,  
 Ngokubula, kuManzungeni ezalw' uMtekuza.
- Gaqa limhlope lakwaBatonyile !  
 Isilo simaduna sakokaTshana !  
 Kangel' abantu bacweb' izinkomo.
35. Sihlahla, kula, sigaul' imizaca.  
 Sisho ngeqabi lako lasoNdini,  
 Libalekelw' umunt' obehamba ngendhlela ;  
 Libalekelw' uMdhleleni kwabatwal' imvokwana.
- Umemez' uNozidini kwabamhlop' abelungu,
40. Wati, "Leyondhlovu yakiti lwaMalandela,  
 Ningayishayi ngesibamu ;  
 Ningayishaya nobe niyibangile."
- Amahlamvu omsenge asal' emisile,  
 Ngobukepukepu bungankosi yaseMashobeni ;

- He called Nozindini, of those across the water,  
 He said, "That elephant of us of Malandela's  
 Do not shoot it with a gun ;  
 If you shoot it you will enrage it ;  
 10. Stab it with bundles of assegais, and of barbed assegais."

- There met two boys ;  
 One was of the iNdhlonhlo, the other of the uDhloko,  
 The young one of the bull calves of Zululand.  
 The affair of Ziwedu, yes! of Hamu!  
 15. Those of Kuko began it, yes! they tested it ;  
 Yes! they said the kraal of Mangweni will come out,  
 It was going slowly like cattle.

- Big white assegai of Batonyile!  
 He slushed along in heavy rain,  
 20. Because his sister is Mbixabixa.

- Nomsinikwana, born of Bikwayo,  
 He beat him down crushingly ;  
 Nongalaza, born of Busobengwe,  
 He beat him down crushingly.  
 25. Mangqupe, born of the abaTembu,  
 Manqina, born of Nkontsheya,  
 He broke away over the Tukela ;  
 Jantoni, born of the Dunns,  
 He beat him down crushingly.

30. He became the hand which beat in the belly of  
 a man,  
 By beating Manzungeni who was born of Mtekuza.

- Big white assegai of Batonyile!  
 Male leopard of the child of Tshana's daughter!  
 Look upon the people, they kill the cattle.  
 35. O Bush, grow, that we may cut fighting sticks.  
 We speak concerning your drove of oNdini,  
 It caused the traveller in the way to run from it ;  
 It caused Mdhleleni to run from it, who was of the  
 baggage-carriers.

- He called Nozidini of the white people,  
 40. He said, "That elephant of us of Malandela,  
 Do not shoot it with a gun ;  
 If you shoot it you will enrage it."

The leaves of the cabbage-tree are left standing,  
 By the waving which is like the chief of Mashobeni ;

45. Mnyakanya yaduka pezulu,  
Yebo ! kweshoba ! yebo ! kungelentamo !  
Uhambe ngelang' elibi,  
Mzukwana laye lakupumela.  
Umfazi wakwamgangaza, yebo !
50. Uyaualal' esibayen' ubenjengematole ;  
Ngiyaz' amatol' azaualalapi ?  
Inyat' empondo zimakenkenene !  
Bayivimbel' eMhlatuzi, bati, "Aiyikuwela !"  
Wawela ngamakand' imitondo ;
55. Uye wadabula kowaseNdayini,  
Wadabula kuNohadu obezalwa kwaXulu ;  
Umkumb' ubutise ngokalo lukaNgome,  
Umbani lauhlaba pezu kweNdulinde ;  
Izinkomo zabeziGqoza, yebo ! zamlabalabela ;
60. UNongalaza ezalw' uNondela wambalekela.  
UMkataziwendhlovenesihlonti, kwabakayihlo !  
UMatantashiya kwabakwa Mpande.

### Izibongo zikaDinuzulu

- UDinuzulu kabulali, uqot' imbokodwe nesisekelo ;  
Wadhl' uSigwabugwahu ngaseZinyangweni ;  
Wadhl' uMkashana ngaseZinyangweni ;
5. Wadhl' uDundu ezalw' uMawewe ;  
UMgojana ezalw' uSomapunga.  
Amakubalo adhliw' uMakulumane !  
Wadhl' uMahlahlana ezalw' uDombo.  
Amakubalo adhliw' uMaqonondo !
10. UMgojana ezalw' uSomapunga ;  
UGidhlana ezalw' u Mapita ;  
UMzamanantsuku kwaButelezi kwabakaSikizane ,  
UMpendu ezalw' uMfanawendhlela,  
Wamshaya pantsi koludumayo ;
15. UMsikiza kwabakaSomfula,  
Wamshaya pantsi koludumayo.  
Umbani lawuhlaba pantsi pezu kweTshana!  
Izinkomo zamaduna zametuka ;  
EzikaMnyamana ezalw' uNgqengelele,



45. The feather head-dresses strayed above,  
 Yes! like the tail! yes! which is of the neck!  
 You travelled on a bad day,  
 On a day when the sun was already up for you.  
 A woman of Ngxangaza's, yes!
50. You will sleep in the cattle kraal like the calves;  
 Do I know where the calves will lie?  
 The buffalo whose horns are widespread!  
 They obstructed it at Mahlatuzi, saying, "It shall not  
 cross!"  
 He crossed by heads of men;
55. He went and passed through the Ndayini kraal,  
 He passed through to Nohadu, who was born of Xulu's  
 The crescent gathered on the ridge of Ngome.  
 The lightning struck over Ndulinde;  
 The cattle of the iziGqoza, yes! they desired him;
60. Nongalaza, born of Nondela, escaped from him.  
 Conqueror-of-the-elephant-with-the-tuft, of your  
 father's children!  
 Matantashiya of the people of Mpande!

### The Praises of Dinuzulu

- Dinuzulu does not kill, he destroys even the grind-  
 ing-stone and the propping-stone;  
 He devoured Sigwabugwabu near Zinyangweni;  
 He devoured Mkashana near Zinyangweni;
5. He devoured Dundu, born of Mawewe;  
 Mgojana, born of Somapunga.  
 The medicines have been eaten by Makulumane!  
 He devoured Mahlahlana, born of Dombo.  
 The medicines have been eaten by Maqonondo!
10. Mgojana, born of Somapunga;  
 Gidhlana, born of Mapita;  
 Mzamanantsuku of the Butelezi clan, of the sons of  
 Sikizane;  
 Mpendu, born of Mfanawendhlela,  
 He beat him down crushingly;
15. Msikiza of the sons of Somfula,  
 He beat him down crushingly.  
 The lightning struck down over the iTshana!  
 The cattle of the bull calves were startled by him;  
 Those of Mnyamana, born of Ngqengelele,

20. Zibalekel' eNkonjeni ;  
 EzikaSantinge ezalw' uNgqengelete,  
 Zibalekel' eNkonjeni ;  
 EzikaDili ezalw' uMjiyisa,  
 Zibalekel' eNkonjeni ;
25. EzikaKwabiti wakwaSibiya,  
 Zibalekel' eNkonjeni ;  
 EzikaMgayi ezalw' uMazamelele,  
 Zibalekel' eNkonjeni ;  
 EzikaMtshubani ezalw' uNopetuka,
30. Yebo! zimetukile!

UDhlotovu kabekeki wesab' imisebe yelanga ;  
 Ilang' elite lisapuma lawupandhla owaseNkungwini ;  
 Ilang' ebelipume pezulu kwaNdunu lazitat' izihlangu  
 zamadoda.

- Indaba yenziw' uNobiyana obezalw' uMholo ;
35. Umbani lawuhlaba pantsi lawuhlaba pezulu!  
 UMakulumane obezalw' uSomapunga, uMgojana ;  
 UNdabambi obezalw' uMapita,  
 Wamshaya pantsi koludumayo.
- Indaba yenziw' uNgatsha ezalw' uKutwana ;
40. Umbani lawuhlaba pantsi lawuhlaba pezulu!  
 ULuzipo obezalw' uNomageja ;  
 UGagadhla kaMfinyeli ezinduneni zamabuto ;  
 UMadubeko ezalw' uMhlolo ezinduneni zamabuto ;  
 Umbani lawuhlaba pantsi lawuhlaba pezulu!
45. UMehlokazulu ezalw' uSihayo ;  
 Umbani lawuhlaba pantsi lawuhlaba pezulu!  
 UMahesheza ezalw' uMnyamana ;  
 Umbani lawuhlaba pantsi lawuhlaba pezulu!  
 Zambalekela!

50. Washa owaseBanganomo ;  
 Washa owaseNkungweni ;  
 Washa owaseBukledeni ;  
 Washa owakwaZihlakanipele ;

20. They fled to Nkonjeni ;  
 Those of Santinge, born of Ngqengelele,  
 They fled to Nkonjeni ;  
 Those of Dili, born of Mjiyisa,  
 They fled to Nkonjeni ;
25. Those of Kwabiti of Sibiya's,  
 They fled to Nkonjeni ;  
 Those of Mgayi, born of Mazamelele,  
 They fled to Nkonjeni ;  
 Those of Mtshubani, born of Nopetuka
30. Yes! they were startled by him!

Dhlotovu, not to be looked at, he feared the rays of  
 the sun ;  
 The sun which, when it rose, dazzled the kraal of  
 Nkungwini ;  
 The sun which was rising above Ndunu caught the  
 shields of men !

The affair was performed by Nobiyana, born of  
 Mholo ;

35. The lightning struck down and struck up!  
 Makulumane who was born of Somapunga, Mgojana ;  
 Ndabambi who was born of Mapita,  
 He struck him down crushingly.  
 The affair was performed by Ngatsha, born of Kutwa-  
 na ;
40. The lightning struck down and struck up!  
 Luzipo, who was born of Nomageja ;  
 Gagadhla, son of Mfinyeli, among the captains of re-  
 giments ;  
 Madubeko, born of Mholo, among the captains of  
 regiments ;  
 The lightning struck down and struck up!
45. Mehlokazulu, born of Sihayo ;  
 The lightning struck down and struck up!  
 Mahesheza, born of Mnyamana ;  
 The lightning struck down and struck up!  
 They fled from him!
50. It burned, (the kraal) of Banganomo ;  
 It burned, that of Nkungweni ;  
 It burned, that of Bukledeni ;  
 It burned, that of Zihlakanipelo ;

- Washa owaseKuvukaneni ;  
 55. Washa owaseKuvukeni!  
     Okuhle!  
     Uye wadabula kwelaseMatongeni ;  
     LikaKankanye ebezalw' uMkanyeni.  
     Wadabula kwelaseNkwibizeni,  
 60. ElikaSeketwayo ezalw' uNtlaka.  
     Wadabula kwelaseKubalekeni,  
     KwelikaNtuzo ezalw' uNtlaka.  
     Uye wadabula kwelikaLukwazi ezalw' uZwana ;  
     Zametuka izinkomo zamaduna.  
 65. Washa owakaMfemfe ;  
     Washa owakwaNgenetsheni!  
     UMpangelalangalingakapumi!  
     Lite selipuma laselipuma nezingazi zamadoda.  
     Isihlahla sombamb.mpala sibamb' amadoda akwaSe-  
         kwayo.  
 70. Ubukudis' amadoda engasakwazi,  
     Yebo! nasesizibeni!  
     USikova obezalw' uMapita.  
     Wamshaya pantsi koludumayo ;  
     Akwabandazaluto!  
 75. UBusobengwe kwabakaMapita,  
     Wamshaya pantsi koludumayo ;  
     UNdabambi ezalw' uMapita,  
     Wamshaya pantsi koludumayo ;  
     Akwabandazaluto!  
 80. Umpendu ezalw' uMfanawendhlela kwabakwaZungu ;  
     Amakubalo adhliw' uNdabula ;  
     Akwabandazaluto!  
     Izigwayi zabola puhlu!  
     Zapel' izihlandhla zaseBanganomo,  
 85. KowaseKuvukuneni,  
     KowaseMdiweni nomakwaVimbemshini,  
     KowaseBukledeni,  
     KowasePanyekweni.

### Izibongo zikaZibebu

Ut' angikulum' indaba kaZibebu ;  
 Indaba yake, ngibong' izibongo zake.  
 UZibebu, umlom' unsikiti ;



- It burned, that of Kuvukaneni ;
55. It burned, that of Kuvukeni!  
 Good fortune!  
 He went and passed through (the country) of the  
 amaTonga ;  
 That of Kankanye, who was born of Mkanyeni.  
 He passed through that of Nkwibizeni,
60. That of Seketwayo, born of Ntlaka.  
 He passed through that of Kubalekeni,  
 To that of Ntuzo, born of Ntlaka.  
 He came and passed through that of Lukwazi, born of  
 Zwana ;  
 The cattle of the bull calves were startled at him.
65. It burned, (the kraal) of Mfemfe ;  
 It burned, that of Ngenetsheni.  
 Faster-than-the-sun-before-it-has-risen!  
 When it rose the blood of men had already been shed  
 The Bush, "the Buck-catcher", caught the men of  
 Sekwayo's.
70. He made men swim who had forgotten how'  
 Yes! even in the pools!  
 Sikova who was born of Mapita ;  
 He struck him down crushingly ;  
 Nothing happened!
75. Busobengwe of the sons of Mapita,  
 He struck him down crushingly ;  
 Ndabambi, born of Mapita,  
 He struck him down crushingly ;  
 Nothing happened!
80. Mpendu, born of Mfanawendhlela of the sons of Zungu  
 The medicines were eaten by Ndabula ;  
 Nothing happened!  
 The tobacco fields rotted even to pulp!  
 The wrapping-mats were finished at Banganomo ;
85. At (the kraal) at Kuvukaneni,  
 At that at Mdiweni, even Vimbemshini's,  
 At that at Bukledeni,  
 At that at Panyekweni.

### The Praises of Zibebu

You say I must tell the story of Zibebu ;  
 His story, I sing his praises.  
 Zibebu, the mouth is not long ;

5. Unjengenkomo igwaz' umhlanga,  
 Oshay' izinkomo zikaGxebe.  
 Ujojo ovik' amaklele!  
 Umqakaqa ungahashi!  
 Umagwaz' ayiqub' ayisekayakonina koSotondose
10. Ungalozimqingo ziyakwazi ukupata isibamu!  
 ZinjengabeSutu bakoFebane.
- Isilwanakazan' esingen' endhlebeni,  
 NguNgangama ezalwa nguSiyingana ;  
 UNgangama ngumupi obengangen' umXapo?
15. Ubambat' amahlali aseMdoda,  
 Waze waye wabanjwa yinomfi kubantwan' eSigwegweni.
- Lidume pakati kweSigwegwe noLangakazi ;  
 Umbani wayewakany' eSibudeni ;  
 Walamulel' uHamu kwabakaMenzi.
20. Intlafutwa eyayibulaw'uSutu ngomkont' eNhlanguwini.
- Watum' isijuqu samahiokohloko,  
 Saye sayesafika sayiboboz' intab' ekuMnyati,  
 Kwapuma izimpetu.  
 Otukutele pakati kwezintaba zombili,
25. Pakati kukaJenge noSiwela ;  
 Wapuma ngompeme kaNodhladhla kumaBunu,  
 Wapuma ngompeme kaNodhladhla!
- Kwazond' iNkisiwana namagumugehlhela.  
 Mfushan' ongubo zikany' ilanga!
30. Ugwaze wakalakatela ;  
 Wafika koSotondose kaMalusi ;  
 Udundubele pakati kukaJenge noSwela,  
 Kwabalek' inyakato.  
 Ngacisho ngagijima ngamshiya ngaqond' eSwazini.
35. Udhl' uKolokoto ezalwa uMzalela ;  
 Wadhl' uMatumbendhlovu kwabakaSiyahla ;  
 Wadhl' uLuhododo ezalw' uMjezi,  
 Obepuz' utshwala nangasemaxibeni,  
 Pakati kwebandhla loMhlahlandhlela.

5. He is like a beast piercing the reeds,  
Which strikes the cattle of Gxebe.  
The Finch which wards off assegais!  
The Slicer, he is like a horse!  
The Stabber, who drives on to his mother's home at  
Sotondose's!
10. The Long-armed One, they know how to carry a  
gun!  
They are like the Basuto of Febane's people.  
The insect which entered the ear,  
It is Ngangama, born of Siyingana ;  
Who is Ngangama that he should enter the umXapo?
15. He pacifies the forests of eMdoda,  
Until he came to the children and was caught by the  
bird-lime at Sigwegwe.  
It thundered between Sigwegwe and Langakazi ;  
The lightning flashed as far as Sibudeni ;  
He intervened on behalf of Hamu of the children of  
Menzi.
20. Child of the great one who was killed by the Usutu with  
a spear at Nhlangwini.  
He sent out a party of weaver-birds,  
Until they came and pierced through the Inyati hill,  
There came out maggots.  
He who was angry between both hills,  
25. Between Jenge and Siwela ;  
He went out by the screen of Nodhlahdla from the  
Boers,  
He went out by the screen of Nodhlahdla.  
The English were resentful, even the Carbineers.  
Short One whose garments are transparent!
30. He stabbed and fell headlong ;  
He came to the people of Sotondose son of Malusi ;  
He came over between Jenge and Siwela,  
The people of the north fled.  
I almost ran and left him and made for Swaziland.
35. He devoured Kolokoto, born of Mzalela ;  
He devoured Matumbendhlovu of the children of  
Siyahla ;  
He devoured Luhododo, born of Mjezi,  
Who was drinking beer even in the beer-huts,  
Among the company of Mhlahlandhlela.

40. Kwaketek' intlabo kwasal' amabele ;  
 EzikaSikubana ezalwa kwaMnyeni,  
 Zabaleka zaqond' eSwazini ;  
 Kwetuk' uMjunga kwangawakwaMakwasa,  
 Wabaleka waqond' eSwazini ;
45. Izinkomo zamaduna zibalekile :  
 Kwazamazam' uMakedama kaSobadhli kwabakaNtom-  
 bela ;  
 Kwetuk' uSinkwana ezalw' uKekile wangakwaZungu :  
 Kwazamazam' uMemezi ezalw' uSidhladhla ;  
 Kwetuk' uNkaniyasha ezalwa nguMlangazi kwaba-  
 kwaNyeneni :
50. Kwetuk' uMankowe ezalwa kwaSitole ;  
 Kwetuk' uMtokwane ezalw' uMasongeyana kwaba-  
 kwaMlotshwa ;  
 Kwetuk' uSambane ezalw' uNtlongaluvalo ;  
 Kwetuk' uSihlazi ezalw' uMahlalela ;  
 Kwase kwetuk' uMhlauli ezalwa kwaKumalo ;
55. Kwetuk' uMjindi ekwabakaSiqakati ;  
 Kwase kwetuk' uTekwana inkosi yamaSwazi ezalwa  
 nguSobuza ;  
 Kwase kwetuk' uMatantane ezalwa kwaLushaba ;  
 Kwetuk' uMgayi ezalw' uZikata ;  
 Kwase kuzamazam' uSitambi kwabakaMasipula ;
60. Kwetuk' uNgolotsheni ezalwa noKokela kwabakwa-  
 Ndwandwe.

- Watint' iduna kwetuk' elinye ;  
 Kwetuk' uSilele ezalw' uMasenjana kwabakaNtsiba-  
 nde.
- Watint' iduna laze letuka :  
 Kwetuk' uMhlaba ezalwa kwaMkonza :
65. Watint' iduna laze letuka :  
 Kwetuk' uMbiko kwabakaMagoloza ;  
 Kwaze kwazamazam' uMhlaba ezalwa kwaMkonza :  
 Watint' iduna kwetuk' elinye ;  
 Kwetuk' uNdida kwabakaSitubela ;
70. Wasetint'iduna kwetuk' elinye :  
 Mab'amaduna ngokuzondelana ,  
 Kwetuk' uMleshe ezalwa kwaDhladla :  
 Watint' iduna letuka :  
 Watint' uSibobo ezalw' uMababakane ;

40. The husks got separated, the grain remained ;  
 (The cattle) of Sikubana, born of Mnyeni,  
 Fleed and made for Swaziland ;  
 Mjungu, as if he was of Makwasa, was startled,  
 He fled and made for Swaziland ;
45. The bulls have fled ;  
 Makedama son of Sobadhli of Ntombela's people was  
 restless ;  
 Sinkwana born of Kekile near to Zungu's was startled ;  
 Memezi born of Sidhladhla was restless ;  
 Nkaniyasha born of Mlangazi of Nyeni's people was  
 startled ;
50. Mankowe of Sitole's was startled ;  
 Mtokwane born of Masongeyana of Mlotshwa's people  
 was startled ;  
 Sambane born of Ntlongaluvalo was startled ;  
 Sihlazi born of Mahlalela was startled ;  
 And then Mhlauli born of Kumalo's was startled ;
55. Mjindi of the children of Siqakati was startled ;  
 And then Tekwana chief of the amaSwazi born of  
 Sobuza was startled ;  
 And then Matantane born of Lushaba was startled ;  
 Mgayi born of Zikata was startled ;  
 And then Sitambi of the people of Masipula was rest-  
 less ;
60. Ngolotsheni born with Kokela of the people of Ndwa-  
 ndwe was startled.

He provoked a bull calf, another was startled ;  
 Silele born of Masenjana of the people of Ntsibande  
 was startled.

- He provoked a bull calf until he was startled ;  
 Mhlaba born of Mkonza's was startled ;
65. He provoked a bull calf until he was startled ;  
 Mbiko of the children of Magoloza was startled ;  
 And then Mhlaba born of Mkonza's was restless ;  
 He provoked a bull calf, another was startled ;  
 Ndida of the people of Situbela was startled ;
70. He provoked a bull calf, another was startled ;  
 Bad are the bull calves by hating one another ;  
 Mleshe born of Siyedane born of Dhladhla's was  
 startled ;  
 He provoked a bull calf, it was startled ;  
 He provoked Sikobobo born of Mababakane ;



75. Watint' iduna kwetuk' elinye ;  
 Kwetuk' uMtshekula, kwabakaNogwaza,  
 Ontombi zinhle ziqom' abantwana ;  
 Watint' iduna kwetuk' elinye ;  
 Kwetuk' uMgayi kwabakaZikata ;
80. Watint' iduna kwetuk' elinye ;  
 Mab' amaduna ngokuzondelana ;  
 Kwetuk' uSambovana ezalw' uMdhlaka  
 Watint' ibuna kwetuk' elinye ;  
 Kwetuk' uMbonyakantsi ezalw' uMdhlaka ;
85. Watint' iduna kwetuk' elinye.

75. He provoked a bull calf, another was startled ;  
Mtshekula of the people of Nogwaza was startled,  
Whose beautiful daughters court the princes ;  
He provoked a bull calf, another was startled ;  
Mgayi of the people of Zikata was startled ;
80. He provoked a bull calf, another was startled ;  
Bad are the bull calves by hating one another ;  
Sambovana born of Mdhlaka was startled ;  
He provoked a bull calf, another was startled ;  
Mbonyakantsi born of Mdhlaka was startled ;
85. He provoked a bull calf, another was startled.
-

## NOTES

## Senzangakona

4. *KwaNobamba* + the kraal where lived *Senzangakona* as chief of the Zulu clans. This kraal stood between the *Mpumbane* and *Nzololo* streams. The site is now occupied by the town of Weenen.

5. *Amaqakalana* + cp. "*Dingana*" line 27.

7. *uNdaba* + grandfather of *Senzangakona*, and ancestor of the line of Zulu kings (see Genealogy).

*eMpembeni* + a stream, possibly near *KwaNobamba*.

9. *eNtumeni* + a hill west of Eshowe. *iDhlinza* + the forest at Eshowe.

10. *Butelezi* + One of the more powerful early tribes of Zululand, neighbouring on the smaller Zulu clan, and living between *Babanongo* hill and the White Mfolozi River (Bryant, Introduction, p 28). The *Butelezi* tribe was later subdued by *Shaka*; for a description of its relations with *Senzangakona*, see Bryant (Introduction, p. 35).

11. *uJama* + son of *Ndaba*, and father of *Senzangakona*.

13. *uMjokwane kaNdaba* is translated by Wanger, who refers to this title in "Catholic Zulu Terminology", pp. 193-4 (see also on line 17) as "the Pesterer born of *Ndaba*."

16. *uMzingeli, amaMfekane* + "*Mzingeli*, chief of the *Mfekane* clan" (Bryant). The *Mfekane* people inhabited the St. Lucia Bay district, and were partly of Tonga descent.

17. *amancasakazi* + see Wanger, op. cit. pp. 181-198. In the work referred to this term is fully discussed by Wanger, who states that "the Zulu term *incasakazi*, in its heathen acceptance, imparts the idea of virginity at least to the same extent as the Latin term *virgo* did in its heathen acceptance" (p 194). Wanger also states, *inter alia*, "According to our informants there are two classes of *amancasakazi*. The one are those daughters of the king, or an *umnumzana*, who, before ever being told by their father to go to some husband selected by him, declare their decision to remain unmarried, i.e. to become *amancasakazi*. The other consists of those who, not having already declared their intention of remaining unmarried, do so after they have declined once or twice to go to the would-be-husbands of their father's choice, and thus become *amancasakazi* just as the afore-mentioned". "All the *amancasakazi* are lodged within the precincts of the *isigodhlo esimnyama*.....where, with the one exception of the king or *umnumzana*, no male is admitted under the penalty of death".

21. *eZihlalo* + a hill near Mahlabatini and the Black Mfolozi river.

24. *eNkandhla* + the *iNkandhla* forest, a district full of interest to students of Zulu history, to which frequent reference is made in the *Izibongo* of the Zulu Chiefs.

## Shaka

2. *oZihlandhlo noGcwabe* + *Zihlandhlo* was the chief of the *eMbo* clan (situated on the *Tukela* River) and *Gcwabe* was his father (Bryant). Stewart, in "*uTulasizwe*" (p. 111) relates the story of the killing of *Zihlandhlo*, son of *Gcwabe*, in the time of *Dingana*. See also "*Abantu Abamnyama*", M. M. Fuzé (p. 114).

5. *abakaMajola* + *Majola's* people were also known as *amaCunu*, and resided on the banks of the *Tukela* River.

7. *Mdakuda* + "former chief of the *Dunge* tribe" (Bryant).

*Boyiya* + as a result of the devastating wars of *Shaka*, and the famine which followed them, cannibalism was resorted to in some instances. *Boyiya*, who had succeeded *Mdakuda* as chief of the *Dunge* tribe, met his death in this way at the hands of a party led by *Mdava*, one of his own tribesmen (see Bryant, Introduction, p. 49).

8. *Abant' abakaTayi* + the people of *Tayi* were allied with other clans in making *Sihayo* (cf. "Dinuzulu" line 45) chief of the *amaNgcobo* tribe. *Shaka* sent out an army to settle the dispute (see "Abantu Abamnyama" p. 88).

11. See the account of *Shaka's* three campaigns against *Zwide* and his people of the *Ndwandwe* tribe, in Bryant's Introduction, pp. 43-44, 50-51; also "Abantu Abamnyama" Chap. 24.

12. *emaPeleni* + the word *ipela* = "any kind of house-beetle or cockroach". Cf. Bryant, who also states that the plural, *amaPela*, was the name given to a regiment formed by *Zwide*, of the *Ndwandwe* clan.

15-16. The whole of line 15 is a "praise-name" of *Shaka*. His readiness is thrown into stronger relief by reference, in the following line, to those cowardly people who, though continually called to arms, did not willingly respond.

17-18. Cp. "*Senzangakona*" lines 21-22; "Abantu Abamnyama" p. 70. When *Zwide* went out to give battle to *Shaka* "all crops and food supplies throughout the land were immediately destroyed, and the whole Zulu clan, accompanied by their women and cattle, betook themselves to the broken country about *Nkandhla*, south of the *Mhlaturu*" (Bryant, Introduction, p. 44).

19. *uMangengeza* + one of the wives of *Senzangakona*, but not the mother of *Shaka*, whose name was *Nandi* (Bryant, Introduction, p. 36).

20. *uPungashe* + chieftain of the *Butelezi* tribe, neighbours of the Zulu clan in the time of *Senzangakona* and in the earlier years of *Shaka* (Bryant, Introduction, p. 35). See also on line 10 of "*Senzangakona*". Bryant describes how *Shaka* picked a quarrel with the *Butelezi* people under *Pungashe*, who had time and again taken prisoner *Senzangakona*, *Shaka's* father. The *Butelezi* were completely scattered, and *Pungashe*, who sought sanctuary with his powerful neighbour, *Zwide*, was by the latter put to death (Bryant, Introduction, p. 41).

23. *Izimbongolwana* + probably a fighting party (cp. "Zibebu" line 22). Such popular names were given to regiments and fighting parties, as in the late war the South African Brigade were known as 'Springboks'.

25. *uNtombazi* + the mother of *Zwide*; *uLanga* + the father of *Zwide* (Bryant) See also on line 11.

26-30. Cp. lines 11-13.

31. See on line 25.

32-36. Cp. lines 15-18.

37. *uNdaba* + great-grandfather of *Shaka*, born about 1680 (Bryant); often referred to as one of the great ancestors of the line of Zulu kings. See Genealogy.

38. *kwezakwaNgoza* + the form of the possessive implies that the noun "*izinkomo* (cattle)" should be understood. Throughout the Praises this term is often used figuratively of the people belonging to a chief.

*uNgoza* + "former chief of the *Tembu* tribe" (Bryant). After *Shaka's* successful attack on the *Butelezi* (see on line 20) the *Tembu* people, who had been under the protection of the *Butelezi*, sought safety in flight, annexing the country of the *Lala* clan of the *emaKuzeni*. The latter people sought the aid of *Shaka*, but his attack on *Ngoza* and the *Tembu* people was repulsed. The *Tembu* clan fought its way southward to Pondoland, where *Ngoza* was overcome and killed by *Faku*, the *Pondo* chief (see Bryant, Introduction, pp. 41-42). This historical sidelight gives point to the exhortation in lines 37-38, cautioning *Shaka* against further interference with the tribe which had evaded conquest by his enemies.

42-46. These lines refer to the flight of *Zwide* on the occasion of the second campaign of *Shaka* against the *Ndwandwe* tribe.

43. *Shaka's* "warriors were instructed, upon nearing a *Ndwandwe* kraal, to approach chanting the *Ndwandwe* war-song. Deceived by this artifice, and as there was little difference of dress recognisable by them between the men of one clan and those of another, the *Ndwandwe* women trooped everywhere forth



to 'welcome', as they thought, their own returning warriors, only to find themselves hopelessly entrapped. But their chief had the fortune to receive timely warning, and hastily abandoned his throne for a nook in the reeds. Thus he escaped with his life" (Bryant, Introduction, p. 44). *Ubani* is reported to have been the name of the stream near which *Zwide* found a hiding place.

49-54. Cp. lines 2-7.

56-59. Cp. lines 17-20.

58. See on line 38.

60. Cp. line 17.

62-66. Cp. lines 9-13.

67. Cp. line 31.

69-74. *uSikunyana* + son of *Zwide*, and his successor in the chieftainship of the Ndwandwe tribe. *Sikunyana* advanced against *Shaka* (with whom his brother and rival, *Somapunga*, had sought shelter) in an attempt to regain his lost inheritance. *Shaka's* forces were encountered near the eNdodolwane mountain (see text) and the Ndwandwe were defeated. *Sikunyana* escaped for the time being, but was afterwards captured in a *Toriga* kraal and put to death (see Bryant, Introduction pp. 50-51; Gibson, pp. 26-29).

74. *Wakandanis' uZulu* + Bryant defines the verb as meaning to "put very close together, pack together." In this context it bears the interpretation placed upon it, the reference being to *Shaka's* undoubted genius in forming from scattered clans the homogeneous Zulu nation, and in recruiting for its army the men of subjugated tribes.

76. If the reference is still to the last campaign against the *Ndwandwe*, as seems probable from line 78, the occurrence of *Zwide's* name creates a difficulty, that chief being then dead. It is possible that "*Zwide*" here means the people or tribe of *Zwide*; though in such a case the plural '*Zwide*' is more appropriate.

### Dingana

3. *uNjunju-wohlanga* + is given by Bryant (p. 758) as a "praise-name" of *Dingana*.

4. *Nzele* states that the name *uSimakule* (long-established one) is sometimes used of God.

6. In the Zulu the line contains an obvious pun upon the name *uVezi*. This play upon words is even more pronounced in line 28.

9. It should be noted that the word *usizi* (sorrow) is spelt exactly as the word in the text. The distinction is conveyed only by a difference in tone.

This furnishes a good instance of the importance of "semantic tone" in Zulu. For other instances see Doke, "Phonetics of the Zulu Language", pp. 208 ff.

10. *Emva*, &c. + i.e. *Nlapo* and *Mlambo* had already been destroyed by *Dingana*; they are like the ashes of the burnt grass, and over their remains the beast bellows in triumph.

12. The concord is that of *inkomo*, not *umlomo*.

*amaNtungwa* is an *isitakazelo* of the clan whose *isibongo* is *kwaKumalo* (see Bryant, p. 749). Bryant defines *isitakazelo* as follows:—"A tribal salutation, term of polite or friendly address peculiar to each clan—each clan being distinguished by its own clan-name, or *isibongo*, as well as by its term of salutation."

*kwaKumalo* + the *Kumalo* clan was an off-shoot of the large *Ndwandwe* (or *Nzumalo*) tribe (cf. Bryant, Introduction, p. 28), whose celebrated chief, *Zwide*, was the antagonist of *Shaka* (see "*Shaka*").

13. *eMkumbane* + across this stream at *eMngungundhlovu* (see on line 14) were carried the victims of *Dingana's* cruelty, and on the ridge known as *kwaMatiwane* they were put to death (see Gibson, p. 49). Gibson states (p. 50), "*kwaMatiwane* came to signify proverbially a place at which a man arrived for



the last time". The name arises from the killing there of *uMatiwane*, a well-known chief of the *amaNgwane* tribe.

14. *eMngungundhlovu* + this principal kraal of *Dingana* was in the fork of the *eMkumbane* and *eNzololo* streams (Gibson p. 42). These were the ancestral lands of the Zulu tribe (see on line 4 of "*Senzangakona*"). Gibson (p. 45) writes a full description of the kraal from the observations of Captain Allan Gardiner, who visited it in 1835. After the invasion of Zululand by the Boers in 1838 this kraal was burnt and *Dingana* twice rebuilt his headquarters; first in the *Hluhluwe* valley, and afterwards south of the *Ivuna*. Both places have been pointed out as the site of *eMngungundhlovu* (see Gibson, pp. 76-77).

16. *uPiti* + the Zulu adaptation of the name of Piet Retief. The line is a reference to the killing of Retief and his party at *eMngungundhlovu* on Feb. 6th. 1838, the deed which precipitated the conflict between Zulus and Boers, during which the battle of Blood River took place, on Dec. 16th. of the same year (Cf. Gibson pp. 62-66; Bryant, Introduction, p. 64).

17. *uMzilikazi* + son of *Mashobana* and father of *Nombengula* (Bryant). (Note.—the name of *Nombengula* is corrupted to *Lobengula*). This famous chief is the *Moselekatsa* of Livingstone, and the "founder of the *Matabele* nation", (Bryant). He belonged to the *Kumalo* clan (see line 12), and his mother, *Nompoti*, was a daughter of *Zwide*. His long and notable history cannot be detailed here. Against *Mzilikazi*, then in the Transvaal, *Dingana* launched a partly successful attack in 1837, which Bryant (Introduction p. 51) describes as *Dingana's* "first and only martial success of any importance." For fuller information respecting *Mzilikazi*, see Bryant, Introduction, pp. 51-54 &c.; Gibson, pp. 30, 51-56.

18-20. *uMashobana* + "father of *Mzilikazi*, and headman of the *Kumalo* clan" (Bryant). See on line 12. The reference of these and the lines immediately following is probably to kindred of *Mzilikazi* who were captured by *Dingana* in the 1837 expedition.

25. See on line 3.

26-27. Note a proverbial Zulu saying:— "*Wena unqisika izitende* — you are cutting my heels". The saying is used of a person who, professing friendliness, is false to one behind one's back (*Nxele*). The lines above might be freely translated: "The Bushmen did not stab *Vezi* in his days of prosperity: but they turned on him in his adversity." (Cp. line 5 of "*Senzangakona*").

28. See on line 6.

29-30. Cp. lines 7-8.

31. Cp. line 74 of "*Shaka*". The verb *kanda* from which the praise-names *Somkanda* is derived, means "to beat, pound, hammer, &c." (Bryant). Thus a possible translation would be, "The welder, because he welds them together."

32. *uPiti noPitolisi* + Piet Retief and Pretorius (see on line 16).

36-39. Cp. lines 9-12.

40-42. The reference is to kraals burnt by *Dingana*, and the noun *umuzi* (village) is understood; thus the use of *wa*, the appropriate concord of *umuzi*.

43. See on line 31.

44. *Intonga yezulu* + Bryant states that the word *intonga* means the same as *induku* (a stick); that it is now nearly obsolete among the men, though used by women for *hlonipa* purposes; and that it was formerly used for a gun. Hence the above translation.

45. See on line 17.

46. *Iqikiza* + "a girl between the ages of about sixteen and twenty five, but not yet wearing the top-knot" (Bryant). Bryant writes of one of *Shaka's* campaigns (Introduction, p. 51) that the army was accompanied by "girls carrying beer, corn and *amasi* for the refreshment of the more important men." The reference in this line may be to the continuance of that custom in the time of *Dingana*.

47. See lines 3 and 25.

48. *uMpikase* + wife of *Senzangakona*, and mother of *Dingana* (cp. Bryant, Introduction, pp. 35-36).

49. *uDingabantu* + a play upon the name of *Dingana*. When *Mpande* crossed over to the Boers in Natal with 17,000 people (known as *igoda likaMpande*, the rope of *Mpande*—see Bryant, Introduction, p. 65) *Dingana* was left with but a few people in his kraals.

50-51. See on line 17.

52-55. See on lines 18-20.

57. See on lines 14 and 48.

58. See on line 49.

61. *uSoshangana* was the nephew of *Zwide* (see "*Shaka*"), his father being *Sigode*, younger son of *Langa*, of whom *Zwide* was the son and successor in the chieftainship of the *Ndwandwe*.

*Soshangana* was the founder of the Gaza Nation (see Bryant, Introduction, p. 54ff.). The descendants of his people, whose home is in Portuguese East Africa, are still commonly known as *amaShangana*. An army was despatched by *Shaka* against *Soshangana*. The reference here is obscure.

63. See on lines 40-42.

### Mpande

3-6 Cp. "*Abantu Abamnyama*" pp. 133 and 157.

3. *uMsimude* or *Msimimude* + enquiries have failed to bring to light the derivation and exact meaning of this praise-name of *Mpande*. It has been suggested that the English term "Mr." as a title of respect, has been adapted to Zulu uses. The word "Sire" has been used in the translation as in some degree expressing this.

8. *uKhwana* + a chief *induna* during the reign of *Dingana*, killed in the time of *Mpande* (see "*Abantu Abamnyama*" p. 27).

9. *uNdaba* + great-grandfather of *Mpande* (see Genealogy). The line is a possible reference to the rapid retreat of *Mpande* with 17,000 followers (see on line 49 of "*Dingana*") over the *Tukela* to the Boers, when threatened by the growing jealousy of the reigning king, his brother *Dingana*.

10. *uMapita* + cousin of *Mpande* (see Genealogy) and father of *Zibebu*, the future great chief of the *Mandhlakazi*, and the rival of *Cetshwayo*. *Mapita*, whose territory to the north-east of *Nongoma* had been assigned to him by *Shaka*, submitted himself to *Mpande* and to the Boers who had helped to bring about the overthrow of *Dingana*. His death occurred shortly after that of *Mpande*, and his son *Zibebu* further increased the power and prestige of the *Mandhlakazi* (see Gibson, chap. 8 &c.).

*uTokotoko* + the brother of *Mapita*.

12-13. During the long and comparatively peaceful reign of *Mpande*, the only notable campaign undertaken was that against the *amaSwazi*; and the seriousness of even this venture is questioned by Gibson (p. 107).

14. *uMsutu* + one of the many sons of *Mpande*.

16-17. *Imbuya* + a common weed often found on kraal-sites. In defining this word, Bryant quotes the following proverb: "*(Umntu) o'manxiwa kamili imbuya*=(a person) whose kraal-sites don't grow any *imbuya* (he doesn't stay long enough for that)—said of a restless man who is constantly shifting his kraal". The weed is eaten as a vegetable in time of famine.

21. *amaQongq' omabili* + "two adjoining mountains in the *Nongoma* district" (Bryant). It was at this place that there occurred the final clash between *Mpande* (assisted, in the rout that followed, by the Boers) and *Dingana*, resulting in the overthrow of the latter, on January 29, 1840. The importance of this battle is shown in the fact that, as Gibson says (p. 86), "the event is referred

to by Zulus for the purpose of fixing the dates of other occurrences." See also Bryant, Introduction p. 65.

22. *uSobuza*, father of *Mswazi*, and chief of the *Swazi* people, is by some held to have been responsible for the death of *Dingana*. The reference here is to *Mpande's* campaign against the *amaSwazi* in the time of *Sobuza's* successor (see on lines 12-13).

26. See on lines 12-13 and 22.

27. See on line 21.

28-29. Cp. lines 3-4.

30-32. Cp. lines 15-17.

33. *Inggungqulu*—the Tumbler Eagle (Bryant). Cp. *ukozi*, the term used of *Mpande* himself (line 9), and referring to the Black Mountain Eagle (Bryant).

35. *uSikwata* was the chief of the *Bapedi*, situate in what is now the Lydenburg District of the Transvaal, and allied in language, &c. to the *Basuto*. *Sikwata's* son was *Sekhukhuni* (Gibson, p. 115).

36. *uNzobo* + "a chief *induna* of *Dingana*" (Bryant). His war title was *Dambuza*. Before the overthrow of *Dingana*, *Nzobo* was sent to Pietermaritzburg to make terms with the Boers, by whom he was arrested as sharing responsibility for the wrongs done by his chief. After the battle at the *amaQongqo* hills, *Nzobo* was tried by a court-martial under the presidency of the Commandant-General, *Mpande* himself being a member of the court. Together with a companion, *Kambazana*, *Nzobo* was condemned and shot (see Gibson, pp. 85-88). Gibson also says, "the Zulus believe that he (*Nzobo*) was tied to the spokes of a wagon-wheel and killed by being carried round with it when the vehicle was in motion." (p. 88).

37. *uKhwana*—see on line 8.

*kwaZulu* + *uZulu* was the great ancestor of the Zulu clan (see Genealogy), the date of whose birth is estimated by Bryant to have been about 1560.

38. *kwaMalandela* + *uMalandela* was the earliest known ancestor of the Zulus. Bryant, who estimates the year of his birth to have been about 1520, makes him the father of *Zulu*, and of *Qwabe*, the head of the elder branch of the family. Gibson regards him as the grandfather of *Zulu*. See also "Abantu Abamnyama" p. 87.

39. *uSongiya*—the mother of *Mpande*, "by whose name Zulus may still be heard to swear" (Gibson p. 124). At her kraal *Umlambongwenya*, *Cetshwayo* was formally crowned by Mr. Theophilus Shepstone in August, 1873 (Gibson, p. 124).

### Cetshwayo

3. *oNdini*—"kraal of *Mpande* between the *Ngoye* hills and the *Mhlatuze*, afterwards moved to *Nodwengu*" (Bryant). As *Cetshwayo's* kraal was *Ulundi* the reference is probably to that kraal, *ondini* being the locative of the Class 6 noun *undi* (a brim, or edge, of an object, including land, the word being also used of the horizon) and this word being the shortened form of *ulundi*. See also "Abantu Abamnyama" pp. 182, 200, &c.. Gibson points out (p. 213) that the "battle of *Ulundi*" in which the English destroyed the power of *Cetshwayo* in 1897, is more correctly named by the Zulus after *Mpande's* old kraal *Nodwengu*, near which it was fought. *Cetshwayo's* kraal, *Ulundi*, was attacked and burned by *Zibebu* in 1883.

5. *kwabatwal' invokwana*—*Nxele* states that the phrase was used of the baggage-carriers of an army. In the time of the Zulu kings such carriers were exempt from interference on the road. Note the proverb:—"Uti ngikwesaba ngoba utwele ukova weNkosi yini?"—You think I am afraid of you because you are carrying the king's plantain?" The saying comes down from the time of *Shaka*, who levied a tribute of *ukova* or plantains (the Zulu word has no plural) upon the districts where they were grown.



7. *uMalandela*—see “*Mpande*”, line 38.

12. *Mpande* had formed the *Indhlondhlo* regiment in 1853, and the *u-Dhloko* regiment in 1855 (see “*Izindaba Zabantu*”, Feb. 15th., 1914). Gibson (p. 133) says of the members of these regiments that they “were unmarried, and aged respectively about forty and thirty-seven years at the time of *Mpande*’s death. Cetshwayo gave the permission” to marry “to these two regiments simultaneously; they were the only regiments to whom, during his reign, he gave it.” See also “*Abantu Abamnyama*” pp. 184–193.

14. *uZiwedu* was brother to *Cetshwayo*. At his kraal on the *Nongoma* ridge *Cetshwayo* found shelter for a time during his flight after the battle of *Uluudi*. *Ziwedu*, together with *Cetshwayo* and another brother, *Siteku*, had in 1861 ceded to the Dutch the land which afterwards became known as the “Disputed Territory” (see Gibson, pp. 119–225, &c.).

*uHlami*—for a fuller note on this another of *Mpande*’s sons. see “*Zibebu*” line 19.

16. *Umuzi uzakupuma*—the phrase *ukupuma komuzi* (the coming-out of a kraal) was used of the departure of a son, with his people and possessions, from the parental home, to set up a kraal of his own.

18. *uBatonyile*—see “*Abantu Abamnyama*” p. 178.

19-20. Note the play on the name of the sister—*ubizizle*, *uMbixabixa*. It is interesting to note that the verb, *ukubixa*, means to “smear, as a hut with mud; besmear, as a person” (Bryant).

23. *uNongalaza*—“chief *induna* of *Mpande*” (Bryant). ^ ^

28. *uJantoni*—the Zulu form of the name of John Dunn. Bryant gives also the form *Mzindoni*.

John Dunn, originally a clerk in the Office of the Border Agent, fought for *uMbulazi* against *Cetshwayo* at *Ndondakusuka* in 1856. He is later found as one of *Cetshwayo*’s most trusted councillors, and was largely responsible for the arming of a number of the king’s warriors with guns. Sir Bartle Frere’s ultimatum to *Cetshwayo* in December, 1878, was entrusted to Dunn, but the actual document is stated not to have reached the king. Dunn deserted from *Cetshwayo* after the engagements at *Isandhlwana* and *Rorke’s Drift* in 1879, took part on the British side in the relief of *Eshowe*, and was assigned land under the settlement of *Sishweli*. He took part later in the British operations against *Dinuzulu*. (See Gibson).

32. See line 18.

34. *Bacweba izinkomo*—*cweba* is an old word, no longer used, referring to the killing of an animal (*Nxele*). It is distinguished from the verb *cweba* (to become clear or pure) by the aspiration of the click consonant, i. e. *chwebu*. Note the *Sixosa* verb *xela* (to kill).

36-42 Cp. lines 3-9.

39. *kwabamhlope abelungu* (of the white people)—this phrase has added significance when taken in conjunction with the word *kwabapesheya* (of those from over the water), which follows the same name, *uNozidini*, in line 6. Foree is given to the supposition that *Nozidini* is the Zulu form of the name of a particular European, or even possibly a corruption of *Mzindoni*, which Bryant gives as the Zulu name for John Dunn (see on line 28).

44. *Ubukepukepu* (the waving) must be read in conjunction with the lines immediately following, the reference being to the waving of the *umnyakanya* (feather head-dress) and the *ishoba* (tail worn as an ornament).

46. *Ishoba* .... *kungelentamo*—the tail of an animal worn as an ornament at the neck of a warrior.

54. The translation is a free rendering of a phrase difficult to translate clearly into English.

56. *Xulu*—the *Xulu* clan, whose home was near the kraal of *Zibebu*, refused to yield submission to that chief; and the *Xulu* chieftain, *Mfinyeli*, was among those attached to *Cetshwayo* on his re-instatement in 1883 (see Gibson p. 245).

57. *eNgome*—"the *Ngome* forest, near the source of the White *Mfolozi*" (Bryant). After his defeat by and flight from the British *Cetshwayo* was captured near the *Ngome* Forest.

58-59. The lines refer to the battle of *Ndondakusuka* during the reign of *Mpande*, in 1856, between *Cetshwayo* and his brother *Mbulazi* (or *Mbuyazwe*), the two being rivals for the position of *Mpande's* successor. *Mbulazi's* followers were known as the *iziGqoza* (see line 59), and *Cetshwayo's* as the *Usutu*, this term persisting in after years as distinguishing the "royalist" section of the *Zulu* people from the *Mandhlakazi* of *Zibebu*. At *Ndondakusuka* *Cetshwayo* defeated his rival, whom he overtook and killed at *eNdulinde* (see line 58).

62. *uMatantashiya* (or *Mantantashiya*) was another brother of *Cetshwayo*, who took the side of *Mbulazi*, the two being sons of one mother, *Monase*. *Matantashiya* also met his death at *Ndondakusuka* (see Gibson, p. 104; "Abantu Abamnyama" pp. 172, 176, 191).

### Dinuzulu

2. As an illustration of the use of *imbokodwe*, Bryant gives the following proverb, almost in the words of the text:— "*Uqote imbokd(w)e nesisekelo*, he has destroyed (everything in the kraal, even the) grinding-stone and the propping stone—expressing utter destruction of everything, as by an invading army." Note that Bryant gives the spelling as *imbokode*.

5. *uMawewe*—"son of *Jobe* and elder brother of *Dingiswayo*" (Bryant). *Dingiswayo* (formerly *Ngondongwana*), chief of the *Mtsetwa* people, was the paramount chief over the *Zulu* and other clans in the time of *Senzangakona*. *Shaka* lived under his protection before assuming the *Zulu* chieftainship.

(See Bryant, Introduction, pp. 34ff.)

6. *uSomapunga*, father of *Mgojana*, was the son of *Zwide* (see "*Shaka*" lines 11, 69-74, &c.). He was restored to his ancestral lands by *Shaka*. *Mgojana* was still in possession of his territory in the time of *Cetshwayo*, and was one of of the thirteen chiefs appointed by Sir Garnet Wolseley in 1879. He was killed at *Nongoma* in 1888 when fighting with *Zibebu* against *Dinuzulu* (Gibson, pp: 219, 265, 308, &c.).

7. *uMakulumane*, another son of *Somapunga*, and brother of *Mgojana*, took part in the warfare of 1883.

*Amakubalo adhliwa*—*Amakubalo* are purificatory medicines eaten by the clan when a member is dead. This rite would be made necessary for *Makulumane* by the death of his brother, *Mgojana*.

9. See on line 7.

10. See on line 6.

11. *uMapita*—father of the great chief *Zibebu*, and head of the *Mandhlakazi* (See Genealogy).

12. *uSikizane*—chief *induna* of *Zibebu* (Gibson, p. 290.)

13. *uMfanawendhlala*—"hereditary chief of the *Zungu* clan" (Bryant). *Mfanawendhlala* was one of the chiefs appointed by the British on the removal of *Cetshwayo* in 1879, and was in league with *Zibebu* and *Hamu* in their opposition to *Cetshwayo* on his return from exile (see line 80.).

15. *uSomfula*—a chief of the *Hlabisa* tribe, acknowledging the sovereignty of *Zibebu* (Gibson, pp. 257, 295, 306).

17. *kweTshana*—*Itshana* (the little stone) is a rocky peak near the *Mkuzi* stream. It gives its name to the battle, in 1884, in which *Zibebu* encountered, and was defeated by, *Dinuzulu's* forces, who were supported by a company of four hundred Boers (see Gibson pp. 271-272).



19. *uMnyamana*—"son of *Nggengelele*, and a chief *induna* of *Cetshwayo*" (Bryant). *Mnyamana*'s formidable following and growing power made him a force to be reckoned with throughout this troubled period of *Zulu* history. During *Dinuzulu*'s reign he forsook the cause of the *Usutu*, and bore arms against the "royalist" party. His story, far too lengthy even to be summarised here, may be found in the pages of Gibson's "Story of the Zulus", and in "Abantu Abamnyama."

20. *eNkonjeni*—"a lofty plateau between the White and Black *Umfolozo* Rivers, deriving its name from one of *Langazana*'s kraals which once stood upon it" (Gibson p. 293). It was the seat of the magistracy which was later removed to its present site at *Nongoma*. To it the small band of British soldiers at the magistracy of *Nongoma* retired after *Dinuzulu*'s attack upon them, and upon *Zibebu*'s forces (see on line 6).

21. *uSantinge*—brother to *Mnyamana* (see line 19), whose kraal was near the *Umfaba* Mountain (Gibson, p. 305).

25. *kwaSibiya*—the *isibongo* of the clan whose *izidakazelo* were *Gumede* and *Ndaba* (Bryant).

29. *uMtshubani*—probably the *uMtshupana* of Gibson (p. 279), who was an *induna* of the prime minister, *Mnyamana* (see line 19) and formed one of a deputation sent by *Dinuzulu* to the British Special Commissioner in 1886 to protest against certain proposed boundaries to *Zulu* territory.

33. The *iNdunu* hill, close to the *Nongoma* magistracy, was occupied by *Zibebu*'s forces previous to the attack by *Dinuzulu* on June 23rd., 1888, as the result of which *Zibebu* suffered heavy losses (see on line 20). The imagery of this line is explained by the fact that *Dinuzulu*'s army of four thousand made a long night march, and when the sun rose appeared in battle array before the magistracy and the *iNdunu* hill. See also "Abantu Abamnyama" pp. 218 ff..

34. *Indaba yenziwa* (the affair was performed) + this phrase when used introduces the names of men of valour who were prominent in fighting for the chief.

36. See line 6.

37. See on line 11.

41. *uNomageja*—see "Abantu Abamnyama" p. 223.

42. *uMfinyeli*—see on line 56 in "*Cetshwayo*".

45. *uSihayo*—"certain headman under *Cetshwayo*" (Bryant).

*uMehlokazulu*—Gibson, writing of this chief son of *Sihayo*, says he "had given the immediate cause for the *Zulu* war." *Mehlokazulu* attempted to put to death one of the wives of his father on the pretext that she had been unfaithful to her husband. The woman, suffering from injuries inflicted by *Mehlokazulu*, took refuge over the border in Natal. *Mehlokazulu* and a party followed, and dragged her by main force back into *Zulu* territory. The British demand that *Cetshwayo* should surrender the person of *Mehlokazulu* was evaded by the king. This violation of the boundary combined with other disturbances, fully narrated by Gibson, to precipitate military action. See also "Abantu Abamnyama" pp. 190 ff..

47. *uMnyamana*—see on line 19.

50-55. These lines comprise a list of kraals burned by *Dinuzulu*'s forces. The noun *umuzi* (village) is understood, its concord being present in the text.

57. The noun *izwe* (country) is understood from the concord used. It is difficult to state to what campaign the line refers.

60 *uSeketwayo*—"induna of *Cetshwayo*, and of the *Mahlalose* clan" (Bryant). *Seketwayo* was one of the chiefs appointed in the settlement of 1879, and perished in *Zibebu*'s attack on the *Ulundi* kraal in 1883.

65-66. See on lines 50-55.

67-68. The praise-name of *Dinuzulu* which comprises line 67, together with the following line, figuratively describes the king's swiftness of action against his enemies.

70-71. The figure used describes how old men, who had thought their fighting days were over, were brought once more into action.

74. A common Zulu phrase, implying here that the all-victorious *Dinuzulu* acted as he pleased; no revenge was possible to his conquered enemies.

77-78. See lines 37-38.

79. See on line 74.

80. See on line 13.

81. See on line 7.

83-84. Cp. "*Mpande*" line 34. "*Isiklandhla*—mat roughly made of *intunga*, or *umabobe*, grass and used chiefly for covering over the outsides of huts, also for wrapping bundles of hemp or tobacco in" (Bryant). The lines imply that the mats were thrown away because the tobacco was rotten, and there was none to wrap up.

*eBanganomo*—the principal kraal of *Zibebu* (see line 50).

85. See line 54.

87. See line 52.

### Zibebu

1. The genealogical table clearly shows the relationship between *Zibebu* and the Royal House. *Zibebu* was the grandson of *Sojiyisa*, the younger brother of *Senzangakona*.

4. *Umlom' unsikiti*;— "*Zibebu* is not a man of words."

14. *umXapo*—A regiment formed in 1859, during the reign of *Mpande* ("Izindaba Zabantu." Feb. 15th., 1914).

16. *eSigwegweni*—the *Sigwegwe* hill is near the present Magistracy of *Nongoma*. It is the site of the old kraal of *Zwide*, and is the spot where *Dingiswayo* (see "*Dinuzulu*" line 5) met his death (see Gibson p. 16).

17. This line, and those immediately following, refer to the quarrel between *Hamu* and the *Usutu*, in which *Zibebu* allied himself to *Hamu*.

18. *eSibudeni*—a hill near the *Inkandhla* Forest, so called because there are found there large quantities of *isibuda* ("certain red ochreous stone, which is ground into paint for women's top-knots"—Bryant).

19. *uHamu*—a younger son of *Mpande* (see Genealogy). Gibson states (p. 106):—"Another cause of trouble in respect to the kingship was growing.....A full brother of *Mpande*, named *uNzibe*, had died....So strong is the belief in some form of spiritual life that *Mpande* actually took wives for the spirit of this man, and there was born, and considered to be born to him, a son, to whom the name was given of *uHamu*". At the time of *Cetshwayo's* accession, *Hamu* had gained a considerable following. His claim to the kingship was not generally recognised, but he became a thorn in the flesh of the reigning chief, and his defection later gave rise to much bloodshed. The story of the alliance between *Zibebu* and *Hamu*, and its effect upon Zulu history, is fully recorded by Gibson.

*uMenzi*—"another name for *Senzangakona*" (Bryant). Royal descent is thus attributed here to *Hamu*.

20. Possibly an ironical reference to an attempt to kill *Zibebu* at *eNhlanguwini* hill, near *Vryheid*.

*Usutu*—See on "*Cetshwayo*" line 57.

21-23. A figurative description of the sending out of a small *impi*, "the Weaver-birds", and the rushing forth of the victims, who are devoured like maggots by the "Weaver-birds."

26-27. A possible reference to the battle of *Itshana*, in May 1884 (see "*Dinuzulu*" line 17). *Zibebu* faced a combined force of *Usutu* warriors and Boers, and certainly escaped, though with his power broken.

28. *Amagumugedhlela* = said to be the name given to a certain British regiment, distinguished in the native mind by a particular type of head-gear worn. Samuelson gives the meaning of *igumugedhlela* as "a Carbineer." The word also occurs in his "*Izibongo zikaDinuzulu*" (Introduction to Dictionary, p. XX).

38. It was a breach of etiquette for a man to drink beer in the beer-hut, where beer was stored. The men drank either in an ordinary hut, or outside (Nxele).

39. *Umhlahlandhlela*. = *Sayingana*, who was a warrior at the time of Mpandes' death, and is still living (1927), states that *Cetshwayo* sent two regiments to the country of *Sambane* (see line 52) whom he suspected of having been concerned in the killing of *Dingana*. When the regiments returned with plunder, they were given the name of *Umhlahlandhlela* (the opener of the path).

41. The concord used in this line, and in those immediately following, implies the noun *izinkomo* (cattle). This is confirmed in line 45.

46. *uMakedama* = "former chief of certain up-country tribe" (Bryant).

51. *uMlotshwa* = "former headman of the Kumalo clan" (Bryant).

52. *uSambane* = "independent *Swazi* chief, north of Zululand" (Bryant). See also on line 39.

56. *uSobuza* = "father of *Mswazi*" (Bryant). *Sobuza*, the *Swazi* king, is generally held to have been responsible for the death of *Dingana* (Cf. Gibson, pp. 90-91). See also on line 39.

59. *uMasipula* = "chief *induna* of *Mpande*" (Bryant).

60. See the many references to *Zwide* and the *Ndwandwe* tribe in "*Shaka*".

72. *uDhladhla* = "father of *Ntshingwana*" (Bryant).

# APPLICATIONS OF NATIVE LAW

By E. R. GARTHORNE.

Under-Secretary for Native Affairs, South Africa.

[*This statement was prepared before the enactment of Act 38 of 1927*]

In September 1833 Sir Benjamin Durban entered into an agreement with the Chiefs of the Kaffir tribe of Cungwa, i. e. the Amaggunkwebe, whereby they became subjects of the King of England and covenanted to live in submission to the general laws of the Colony, which, he pointed out, peremptorily forbade the pretended offence of witchcraft.

It was, however, a condition of the agreement that the Colonial law "did not, and would not, interfere with the domestic and internal regulations of the Chiefs for their tribe and families, nor with their customs"—no breach of Colonial law being involved—"the exercise of which would be free to them so long as they might desire to retain them." The agreement together with other similar instruments was annulled, and His Majesty's sovereignty renounced, in the following year. Treaties as with independent nations were substituted in 1845, in which, however, the Chiefs engaged that Christian converts and mission Natives within their dominions should not be disturbed "for refusing to comply with the Kaffir customs of witchcraft, rainmaking, polygamy, circumcision or forcible abduction or violation of females."

Apart from this abortive agreement of 1833, the earliest instance of the definite recognition of Native law by the sovereign power in South Africa appears to be contained in paragraph 28 of the Royal Instructions to the Officer Adminstrating the Government of the District of Natal, dated 8th March, 1848, and proclaimed in Natal by the Lieutenant Governor on the 21st June, 1849. Her Majesty's will and pleasure is expressed as follows:—"We have not interfered with or abrogated any law, custom or usage prevailing among the inhabitants previously to the assertion of sovereignty over the District, except so far as the same may be repugnant to the general principles of humanity recognised throughout the whole civilized world, and we have not interfered with or abrogated the powers which the laws, customs and usages of the inhabitants vested in the said Chiefs, or in any other persons in authority among them, but in all transactions between themselves, and in all crimes committed by any of them, against the persons or property of any of them, the said Natives are to administer justice towards each other as they had been used to do in former times,"



Pursuant to this Proclamation Ordinance No. 3 of 1849, Natal, was enacted, repealing the exclusive operation of the Roman-Dutch law and providing (a) for the appointment of persons with powers to control, revise and direct the administration of justice according to Native law ; (b) for appeals to the Lieutenant Governor and Executive Council ; (c) for the appointment of the Lieutenant Governor as Supreme Chief, and (d) prescribing that all crimes committed by any Native against the person or property of another Native, as well as all transactions between Natives, should be recognizable under Native law. These last provisions were modified by a section providing that all crimes by Natives which may be deemed repugnant to the general principles of humanity recognized throughout the whole civilized world should be subject to prosecution only in the Colonial Courts and by the Crown Prosecutor. These wide and unusual powers provoked the question whether they were not *ultra vires* the common law which they purported to exclude. To remove all doubt the Ordinance was re-enacted as an Order-in-Council by Her Majesty. In his despatch forwarding the Order, Lord Grey, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, intimated that the Lieutenant Governor should observe the principle of maintaining Native usages as far as this could reasonably be done. He further interpreted the modification as to "the general principles of humanity" which had been taken over textually from the Royal Instructions of 1848. It was not desired, he wrote, to remove any particular class of offences from the cognizance of the Native authorities merely on the ground that the offence itself was of a serious nature. It was desired only to abrogate unchristian and barbarous usages in dealing with offences. For example, when an imaginary offence was visited with punishment—such as witchcraft ; when a serious offence was treated as excusable, such as homicide in certain circumstances ; or when offences of slight moral character were invested with importance owing to superstition. It should be noted that in this the first application of Native law in South Africa under civilized Government, the intention of those who framed the moderating proviso as to the principle of humanity and civilization, aimed solely at limiting the enormities of the criminal side of Native law.

By a law of 1869 power was taken in Natal to regulate marriages by Native custom, and regulations were issued in that year consisting of 39 sections, which prescribed the essentials and forms of such marriages, the necessity of registration, the amount of dowry or *lobolo*, the ensurance of the woman's consent, the duties of the Chiefs in this regard, and so on, and which were in fact a code of the law dealing with marriage and divorce. The regulations are expressed

to be a modification of Native marriage customs with a view to fitting the natives for a higher state of civilization, and to raising the social and moral condition of the people, especially of the female portion.

The avowed principle of codifying Native law was first introduced in Natal by Law No. 26 of 1875, entitled a law to make better provision for the administration of justice among natives and for the gradual assimilation of Native law to the laws of the Colony. This law repealed the Ordinance of 1849: it definitely deprived the Chiefs of criminal jurisdiction: it limited the scope of Native law on its civil side to the extent that the same should not be recognized when of a nature to work some manifest injustice, or when repugnant to the settled principles and policy of natural equity: it provided for the appointment of European Administrators of Native law, and of Native Chiefs to administer justice in civil cases: it established a Native high court and a Native Court of Appeal: and it abolished distinctions between Natives and Europeans as regards crime, excepting in respect to political offences, faction fights and special offences under Native law. This law further made provision for a Board which, within a period of two years was to reduce to writing the principles of Native law as administered in Natal. When the Board was constituted, the members recorded their view that they could not express with detail and by way of hard and fast lines as law, usages which, though often or generally acted upon, were still not so much laws as in native public opinion, fashions or proprieties or partial customs. They stated that the main elements of Native law hinged upon a few leading principles, female subjection, paternal power, primogeniture, polygamy and adoption. But they thought it was not feasible to attempt to define the authority of Native chiefs and Headmen in their tribes. They then formulated the code of Native law of 1878 consisting of 68 sections, which was published by Government Notice No. 194 of 1878 and became the law of Natal until superseded by the code of 1891. This code of 1878 is law in Zululand to-day, though it was stated by the Chief Native Commissioner of Natal in 1913 in evidence before a Select Committee of the Senate that it had never been enforced there and that "in Zululand they exercise unwritten Native law."

It is unnecessary to examine the code beyond pointing out that, since it omitted to elucidate the authority of the Chiefs, which had been retained under the Act of 1875, it was clearly imperfect as a code and left unregulated a very important province of control. It may here be observed that subsequently the Zululand Chiefs were

given a limited criminal jurisdiction under Native law in cases of offences committed by Natives of their own tribes. By law No. 44 of 1887 provision was made for a substituted code of Native law to be drawn up by a Board, which should have powers to propose alterations and amendments, and also to innovate; and it was further provided that administrative discretion should be exercisable in regard to any subsequent amendments of this new code, which should be susceptible of modification by proclamation.

The code was duly drawn up but it was enacted by a statute. Law No. 19 of 1891, which restricted the power of amendment to the legislature so that the elasticity originally intended was lost. This code of 1891 is divided into 26 chapters and consists of 298 sections. It has been amended and added to by eight supplementary statutes, and it consequently constitutes a most imposing body of law. It certainly contains numerous provisions which are alien to Native law and which have no doubt been inserted with a view to convenience of administration, such for instance as those relating to the registration of marriage, and of debts arising out of marriage customs with a prescription of claims in this connection; such also as the grounds allowed for divorce. It goes further than this and defines certain offences against decency and morals as criminal acts specially penalized. This does not seem customary Native law, nor is it today South African Law, though at one time the Roman-Dutch Courts regarded matrimonial misconduct as an offence. Another provision of the code which it would be difficult to reconcile with Native law is that commonly called "Isibalo," whereby the Supreme Chief is empowered to call upon all natives to supply labour for public works. This is a matter specifically apart from service for tribal defence, or the service due to the Chief, and rather calls to mind the definition given by the Transvaal Chief Justice in 1903 of Martial Law which, he said, was not so much law as the will of the commander.

It is not necessary to criticize the code, but if it contains alien elements of Colonial law, canon law, martial law, etc., and if there are many omissions and innovations, it cannot be invoked as a compendium of Native law outside the local limits where it runs as a statutory enactment. In theory Natal Native law is not limited to the code. The Native High Court in 1902 laid it down that the code is mainly affirmative and declaratory, and does not embrace all the juristic practices of the Natives, and the Court referred to section 80 of Act 49 of 1898:—"all civil cases shall be tried according to Native laws, customs and usages, save so far as may be otherwise specially provided by law, or as may be of a nature to work some manifest



injustice, or be repugnant to the settled principles and policy of natural equity." The Judge President significantly pointed out how apt this is to be overlooked.

"That there is need for amendment of the code is abundantly established by the evidence" was a dictum of the Natal Native Affairs Commission in 1907. It will not be contested that the Natal Native Code is rigid statute law ; and therefore perhaps liable to the stricture of the Commission when they remark : "in alluding to the supplanting by statutory or restrictive law of the adaptable and dynamic force of human personality in the control of a simple and semi-savage people, there is need to give a shock to the political instincts of the dominant race."

The machinery of the operation of law consists of Courts ; for ecclesiastical law, ecclesiastical Courts ; for martial law, Courts martial ; for Native law, Native Courts. Courts are correlative to law, and courts, though creatures of statute, necessarily import into their various ambits the momentum of their own exertions and the idiosyncracies of their proper superiors of revision and appeal. In brief, their birth is of the legislature, but their development of the judiciary.

The successive system of Courts for Native law in Natal have been as follows :—

1. Under Ordinance No. 3 of 1849 : Native Chiefs retained their jurisdiction and Courts of Officers were established to administer Native laws. These Courts took cognizance of all civil and criminal cases between Native and Native, excepting only in the case of crimes repugnant to the general principles of humanity. The Lieutenant Governor was later by law No. 21 of 1874 given power to extend the jurisdiction of Native Courts to crimes committed by Natives against Europeans. Appeals lay only to the Lieutenant Governor and Executive Council.
2. Under Law No. 26 of 1875 : Native Chiefs were restricted to a civil jurisdiction and Courts of European Administrators of Native Law were established. The Administrators were subsequently given a summary criminal jurisdiction by Law No. 21 of 1878. The cases from the Chiefs' Courts could be re-tried before the Administrator. A Native High Court was established, of first instance and also of appeal from lower Native Courts. This High Court consisted of a specially appointed Judge assisted by assessors as occasion required. Appeals lay from this High Court to a Special Court of Appeal consisting of the



High Court Judge, the Secretary for Native Affairs and a Judge of the Supreme Court.

3. Under Act No. 13 of 1895 : the Native High Court was abolished and Native cases were made appealable to the Supreme Court.
4. Under Act No. 49 of 1898 : the Chiefs retained their civil jurisdiction as re-affirmed and modified by the Code, with appeal to the Magistrate. The Administrator's Courts were merged in the Magistrates' Courts, but Native cases were triable under separate Rules. Appeals lay to a new Native High Court consisting of three (subsequently four) Judges, which could function under one Judge as a Circuit Court either in appeal or first instance. The full High Court was the final Court of Appeal and the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court was excluded.
5. To the last, which is the existing, system, was added, by Act No. 1 of 1911, appeal in certain cases to the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court of the Union.

Totally different was the germination of the system of Native law as operating to-day in the great Transkeian Territories of the Province of the Cape of Good Hope.

Within that Colony, the Native was scarcely known to the Legislature, excepting incidentally as a troublesome neighbour, until after the Kafir war of 1846 when the Colonial Border was finally extended from the Great Fish to the Keiskama River, and Sir Harry Smith vested the adjacent territory between that river and the Great Kei in Her Majesty the Queen, in what he described as military possession. The land was held of the Queen but was allocated among various Native tribes under the High Commissioner as "Great Chief" and he appointed four resident agents to advise the tribal chiefs. In 1847 he instructed these residents or Commissioners as they were called, to receive reports of depredations from the Colonists, and to seek redress through the medium of the Chiefs and "Kaffir Law", which, he innocently said, was ample and severe. The territory was a Native Protectorate, into which of course numerous Europeans penetrated, but it was only after the Native war of 1850-52 that the Government of British Kaffraria was established. This Crown Colony Government had its own legislative machinery steadily shaping Proclamations and Ordinances upon lines of European inspiration, and, with one exception (succession), almost exclusively regulating matters of European concern. The "ample and severe Kaffir law" referred to in 1847 fell into oblivion and was ignored, or operated unrecognized among the tribes. By the Cape Act No. 3 of 1865, British Kaffraria was incorporated into the Colony and Cape legislation was generally sub-

stituted for the District laws. This first great accretion to the Cape was an absorption rather than an annexation. The Native Province was swallowed and assimilated by a Government "which knew not Joseph", and there was no question of conserving such traces of Native atmosphere as might previously have persisted.

The next adventure in the direction of Territorial expansion was Basutoland, which was annexed in 1871, but under very different conditions. By proclamation of the 12th March, 1868, Sir Philip Wodehouse had admitted the Basutos into the allegiance of Her Majesty, and had declared them British subjects and their territory British territory, intimating that it would probably be annexed to Natal. He informed the Basutos that, although it was not intended to interfere with Native customs more than was necessary, certain matters would have to be brought into some conformity with Christian and civilized usages. Sir Philip forwarded to the Secretary of State draft regulations which, he said, had been discussed with the principal men of the Basutos and with the French Missionaries, and which he proposed to issue. Among these the following is of interest :

"The Administration shall for the present be conducted in conformity with Native usages of the tribe." These draft Regulations were elaborated and published under Government Notice of the 13th May, 1870, which contains very precise indications of the respect with which Native law was regarded, especially in connection with the important province of marriage, divorce, dowry and guardianship. Basutoland was annexed to the Cape Colony by Act No. 12 of 1871, and it is in this instrument that first appear the principles of the retention of pre-existing local law, and the exclusion of Colonial legislation, together with the conference upon the Executive of legislative powers, which were so widely and successfully adopted in most of the subsequent expansions of the Cape Colony. Proclamation No. 51 of 1871 was issued, containing some additional Regulations but substantially reflecting those of 1870. In 1872 a Commission of the Basutoland Magistrates was appointed to enquire into and report upon the Native laws and customs of the Basutos, and the amendments recommended by this Commission were embodied in the revised Regulations published by Proclamation No. 41 of the 29th March, 1877. Basutoland was of course disannexed from the Cape and replaced under the immediate authority of the Crown in 1884, but in the meantime the system evolved for that Territory had struck root and flourished in due course in the great Eastern Tracts taken over by a series of annexations, which now constitute the Transkeian Territories.

Briefly then this is the machinery which has produced the system of the Cape Native Territories: an Act of Parliament annexing the country, leaving existing laws in force, excluding the operation of Colonial law and conferring upon the Government the power to legislate by Proclamation. Almost simultaneously appears a set of fundamental Regulations and subsequently, as experience may counsel, these regulations are amended, specific Colonial Statutes are adopted and applied after revision if necessary, Native law is moulded and a body of jurisprudence is built up, all this by Proclamation. In the fundamental Regulations that which most concerns the present subject lays down the civil jurisdiction of the Magistrates for whose appointments provision is made, and this is the marrow:—"all such suits and proceedings shall be dealt with according to the law in force at the time in the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, except where all the parties to the suit or proceedings are what are commonly called Natives, in which case it *may* be dealt with according to Native law....." This principle has been retained in consolidating legislation.

It will be noted that there is here no attempt at any elucidation of Native law, which is regarded as a thing known or accessible. It is left to the Court to decide whether any particular suit shall be heard under Colonial law or Native law and the Magistrate's decision is of course guided by the nature of the claim. There has emerged, however, a basic element which must enormously modify Native law proper, which was stated in the judgment of the President of the Appeal Court in 1902 in the case of *Nosaiti versus Xangati*: "The Court is aware that this is in conflict with Native custom, but when Native custom is repugnant to justice and equity.....it must give way."

In the original Regulations it was made optional for persons married by Native custom to register the first such marriage together with the dowry consideration with the Magistrate, and the Cape Supreme Court held in 1892 that the object of this registration was to bring the first marriage by Native custom under Colonial law, thus invalidating subsequent marriages during the subsistence of the first. However, the Native Appeal Court in 1897 deviated from that ruling on the ground that the Native law governed the matter and could not be impeached, and it laid down that polygamous marriages were valid in law when contracted by Natives according to Native forms. It is certainly an arresting spectacle, that of the Chief Magistrate asserting the authority of Native law in contradiction to the finding of the Supreme Court.



The bold and sympathetic energies of the Transkeian Native Appeal Court have heaped together a mass of judgments, many of them discriminated on Native advice according to diverse tribal customs. These judgments have been collected and published by Messrs Warner, Henckel and Seymour, while others are in process of publication. Not only so, but the judgments of the Appeal Court are periodically circulated to Magistrates. A cursory survey of the reports might convey the impression that decided Native cases consist of little but a dismal catalogue of adulteries and seductions, but nevertheless there is a great deal of social discipline depending upon the treatment of these disputes, which are by no means the exclusive subjects of decision. It is largely from the records of the Appeal Courts that Mr. W. M. Seymour compiled his text book on Native law and custom published in 1911, in the preface to which he states that "knowledge of pure Native law is not of such great importance to the practical lawyer as hitherto" owing to the innovations which are taking place. The Native law operating in the Transkei may be regarded as case law, or law founded on a consistent series of judgments. This system seems to allow of a fecundity of growth, an efflorescence, which may well attract attention in connection with these alien conceptions, if the ultimate ideal of Government be to merge all law in the established jurisprudence of the Union. Refinements and complexities seem to supervene, as is suggested by the numerous reference to the customs of the tribes of Griqualand East. Bearing in mind McCall Theal's description of the fragmentary and haphazard occupation of that territory, known before annexation as Nomansland, it is perhaps surprising to find it so distinctly recognized as a field of differentiated Native custom.

The Court system of the Territories has undergone but little serious change. The intervention in disputes of Chiefs or Headmen, originally acquiesced in, but contemplated as apart from and irrelevant to the Magistrate's judicial position of first instance, has largely fallen into abeyance, owing no doubt to the number of Magistrates' courts which it has been found possible to maintain. Appeals which at first lay to the Chief Magistrate's Court, could also be taken to the Superior Courts of the Colony, but so far as regards cases under Native law a Native Appeal Court with exclusive jurisdiction was constituted by Act No. 26 of 1894, consisting of the Chief Magistrate with two Magistrates as Assessors. A study of recorded cases reveals the considerable extent to which the Court is influenced by the opinions of Native Assessors. Criminal law in the Territory is administered under a Penal Code passed by the Cape Parliament in 1886.



It is not alone in the Transkeian Territories that the Cape Colony has its experience of Native Law. By Act No. 41 of 1895 British Bechuanaland was taken over from the Imperial authority and annexed to the Cape not primarily, however, as a Native area. The European interest was considerable and no doubt mineral possibilities were borne in mind, so that the Colonial law was made to apply. Large reserves were laid off for Native tribes and in these the operation of Native law was retained. By Section 31 of the original Bechuanaland Regulations the Chief had been given exclusive jurisdiction in all civil cases between Natives of their own tribes, and by Section 32 they had been allowed to retain jurisdiction in all criminal cases excepting certain grave felonies. Appeals lay from the Chief to a Court consisting of himself and the Resident Magistrate, with a further appeal to the Chief Magistrate. On the abolition of the latter office, the further appeal fell away, and as there could be little satisfaction to a litigant in appealing to a court where the Judge of first instance sat with power effectively to oppose any modification of the original judgement, it may be held that there was virtually no appeal from the Chief until provision was made for appeals through the Courts of Magistrates to the Local Division of the Supreme Court Act by No. 7 of 1924.

The inception of Native law in the Transvaal is again different. The origins of the South African Republic were settlement of emigrants from the Cape Colony anxious to manage their own concerns in their own way. At first they probably had little opportunity to elaborate systems of law in the desolated regions which they occupied, and such precepts as "thou shalt not kill" and the sanction "by man shall thy blood be shed" would suffice for their primitive needs. But the community grew and it was in June 1648 that Lord Grey ascribed "more regularity and greater strength to that rude system of Government which has grown up of itself among these people from the necessity of their position." Their earliest concern was to settle the Native who in the Districts then occupied had been dispossessed and scattered by Mzilikazi, and in 1853 their Commandants were empowered "to grant lands to Kafirs, where necessary, "for occupation subject to good behaviour and obedience." Instructions were issued in 1853 amongst which it was laid down that natives were to "live under their chiefs," presumably according to their own usages. Subsequently there were numerous sporadic regulations and the restrictions at the time considered necessary as regards Natives in contact with Europeans, but foreign to the present subject and of no particular interest; until finally Law No. 3-1876 was enacted. Provision was made for the demarcation of Native locations, for the

recognition or selection of Chiefs, who should receive a salary, and for the appointment of Native Commissioners and Sub-Commissioners, but a significant section of this law contained the following :— “In furtherance of morality, the purchase of women or polygamy among Natives is not recognized in this Republic by the law of the land.” It would seem that the Republican legislators had decided to reproduce the conditions of the Cape Colony Proper in this regard. There, Native marriage was ignored together with all Native law. Here Native Marriage was definitely excluded from judicial cognizance. In the Cape the forms of European marriage were available to the Native ; in the Republic this was not the case. There was little time to judge the effect of this policy since early in the following year the Transvaal was annexed to the Crown. In the instrument of annexation, Sir Theophilus Shepstone referred to the failure of Native policy and the practical independence of the Native tribes as among the reasons for that step.

During the occupation a law (No. 11 of 1881) was passed expressed to be “for the better government of, and administration of justice “among, the Native population of the Province.” After sweeping away the Republican Native legislation *en bloc* it reproduced almost textually the Natal Law of 1875, excepting in regard to appeals, which lay through the Magistrates, in their capacity as Administrators of Native law, to the Secretary of Native Affairs ; and excepting also in regard to the framing of Rules, which devolved upon the Governor in Executive Council. Also no question of codification was emphasized although it was made practicable. After the retrocession, this law was adopted by the South African Republic almost unaltered and appears in the Statute book to-day as Law No. 4 of 1885, so that the origin of the application of Native Law in the Transvaal is identical with that in Natal. The preamble of Law No. 4 of 1885 and the retention in force of Native Law, subject to the proviso as to the principles of civilization, are, saving the vagaries of translation, in the actual language of the Royal Instruction signed at Buckingham Palace in 1848. But the development of the system has been in steady divergence from the original intention.

Law No. 4 of 1885 (a poor translation of Law No. 11 of 1881) lays down that the laws, habits and customs hitherto observed among the Natives shall continue to remain in force as long as they have not appeared to be inconsistent with the general principles of civilization recognized in the civilized world. It prescribes, further, that all matters and disputes of a civil nature between Natives shall be dealt with in accordance with Native laws at present in use and for the time

being in force, in so far as the same shall not occasion evident injustice or be in conflict with the accepted principles of natural justice. It then provides that the State President as Paramount Chief shall exercise over all Chiefs and Natives in the Republic all power and authority which in accordance with Native laws, habits and customs are given to any Paramount Chief. And it carefully excludes Native disputes from settlement by other machinery than its own. This machinery consists of Courts of Native Chiefs and of Native Sub-Commissioners, with an appeal to Courts of Native Commissioners, and a final appeal to the Superintendent of Natives, whose judgment would be executable only after confirmation by the Government. It seems that here was a system eminently suited to the needs of the Native population and conformable, though perhaps in an improved form, with principles operating elsewhere among the Native peoples of South Africa.

Perhaps an echo of the discarded pre-annexation policy reverberated in the Circular issued in 1895 by the Superintendent to the effect that the purchase of women for money or cattle was contraband dealing upon which the Native Courts could not adjudicate. This instruction was rather infelicitously phrased. Money was foreign to the transaction: there could of course be no sale of women, and though the marriage custom might be open to abuse the Courts were there to prevent such abuse. The *lobola* or dowry is, generally, not recoverable under Native law proper by action against a defaulting husband, but by the custom of *Ukuteleka* or detention of the wife, to which the woman would necessarily be a party. As regards the reclamation of *lobolo* in certain cases of hardship, the Attorney-General of the Transvaal gave his opinion in 1905 that this was certainly not opposed to the accepted principles of natural justice. At the worst this was but a Circular which could have been withdrawn by a more happily expressed document, and in the case of *Marroko v. the State* the High Court of the Republic in 1893 had held that native marriages were valid.

An occasion to remove all difficulties arrived with the South African War, when in 1901 the legislative power lay in a single hand, but the opportunity was disregarded. Unconsciously as it were, the constitution of a New Supreme Court extruded the old detachment of the Native Courts. Instead of an immediate rectification the appellate jurisdiction of the Superintendent (Secretary for Native Affairs) was abandoned to the Supreme Court, together with his jurisdiction of divorce in regard to Native civil marriages which had become possible in 1898. Some years later, to complete the disruption, appeals from



Native Chiefs were taken from the Native Commissioners and handed over to the Supreme Court too. There has been no appeal from a Chief to the Supreme Court. It would seem impracticable when the Chief probably cannot write his name and when the Court requires a record for consideration, but applications have been made to the Supreme Court by litigants from the Chiefs' Courts. An applicant in 1910, who had obtained judgment before a Chief, applied to the Supreme Court for process in aid of execution. The Judge held that the applicant had better proceed by way of action, but the case did not come to trial. No doubt the assets of the complainant were swallowed up in the initial costs of the application. The Republican system was effectively short-circuited, for though the Native Courts remained, disjointed, and impotent, the Native law evaporated. As Mr. Justice Mason remarked in 1915, "it is true that one result of that necessary conclusion from the invalidity of polygamous marriages is to render ineffective to a great extent the provisions of Law No. 4 of 1885 preserving as far as possible Native customs," and in the same case Mr. Justice Wessels said, "When we have rejected these, we have so undermined the fundamental Native customs that there is very little left of their customs as to marriage and status." Now Native civil law is practically built up upon the family life which derives entirely from marriage and status. It was not in the falling of a leaf that the consequences of the momentous changes achieved were recognized.

The balanced scheme of procedure was dislocated in 1901. In 1902 the infelicitous Circular of 1895 was reiterated, and in the same year the Tax Ordinance subjected the polygamous Native to an additional impost in respect of his additional wives. The cynicism that extorted revenue from a practice which the law rejected as immoral could hardly have been intentional. Indeed, in 1905 a Judge of the Supreme Court is reported to have expressed surprise in the Circuit Court at Middelburg, when told by the Native Commissioner that instructions had been received not to hear cases dealing with Native marriages. His Lordship remarked that the instructions were most extraordinary as the Commissioners had special jurisdiction to try cases which could not be taken away. A timid suggestion was circulated in 1905 intimating that Native officials might adjudicate in regard to the return of dowry when the quasi-husband had been deserted without fault on his own part. However, the law as interpreted by the Supreme Court according to European canons prevailed and a series of decisions culminating in 1910 made it clear that 99 per cent of the Native marriages in the Transvaal were ineffective for any purpose of legal right. Certainly Native officials endeavoured to temper the wind to the shorn lamb as far as possible.



No doubt if Native Courts continued to hear the cases submitted, they did not adjudicate, but merely arbitrated! If they re-tried cases already heard by a Chief, no doubt they assumed that previous proceedings did not purport to be judicial! But palliatives of this nature could not continue indefinitely, and by Act No. 7 of 1924 the right of appeal from the Chief to the Native Commissioner or Sub-Commissioner was re-established.

In the Orange Free State, generally, the position is similar to that in the Cape Colony Proper, and there is no recognition of Native law, excepting that the offspring of Native Unions are regarded as entitled to inherit, and in the case of separation, rights of guardianship are ascribed to the parent other than the one who is responsible for the severance (Act No. 26 of 1899 section 28). A further exception in the Free State was made when the tribe at Witzieshoek was received within the jurisdiction of the Republic. In this location the Chief is recognized as exercising a minor civil jurisdiction over his following and an appeal lies to the European Commandant of the Reserve.

Perhaps there is no need of a pedantic uniformity, but the question obtrudes itself whether in the system which must bridge the gap from barbarism to civilization, as commonly understood, there should be so great varieties of practice and of right. As a concrete instance—should the great wife of a Native be the woman he elects as such, as in Zululand; or the first he marries, as in Natal; or the woman indicated by the Court on the merits, as in the Territories; or, as in the Transvaal, no wife at all, except for the purpose of fiscal exaction?

*To summarize :*

There is in Zululand a disregarded code and the Native unwritten law, applied by the Chiefs and the Magistrates, with appeal to the Native High Court.

There is in Natal a rigid hybrid thing called codified Native law, and also the disregarded unwritten law, applied by the Chiefs and the Magistrates, with appeal to the Native High Court.

There is in the Territories Native case law, amended from time to time by the legislator, applied by Magistrates, with appeal to the Native Appeal Court.

There is in Bechuanaland unrestrained Native law applied by the Chiefs with recently established appeal to the Magistrates and the Supreme Court.

There is in the Transvaal, native common law, maimed and emasculated according to the European canon, applied by Chiefs and Sub-Commissioners, with appeal as the case may be, to the Sub-Commissioners or to the exponents of the White man's law.

There is in the Cape Colony proper no native law of any kind, excepting an indulgence as regards succession enjoyed in restricted areas under antiquated and defective statutes, which lack machinery to function as regards fixed property—Cases under these statutes are decided by Magistrates, with appeal to the Governor-General.

There is in the Orange Free State the Native law of succession and certain rights of guardianship, and in the single area where tribal conditions really prevail, the limited operation of native law under the jurisdiction of the Chief with appeal to a Native Affairs official.

In one of these systems or in an adaptation of several of these systems there may be the fount of justice and of wisdom, but it is hard to suppose that each system is working for the best in its several sphere.

It is conceivable that applications of Native law might beneficially be resolved into an application of Native law, and that this application should be neither amorphous nor multiform, but should be consonant as to main principles, susceptible of flexibility as to details, progressive as to tendency on lines of civilized evolution, and operated through the instrumentality of such Courts as, by a process of elimination based upon experience, the study of half a dozen differing systems may recommend.

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# SOME REMARKS ON THE PRACTICAL ORTHOGRAPHY OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN BANTU LANGUAGES

By G. P. LESTRADE.

Ethnologist, Native Affairs Department, South Africa.

The scientific transcription of African languages is now, with comparatively few exceptions, being carried on almost exclusively through one of two systems—the “diacritic” school of Lepsius and most of the German Africanists, and the “monotype” school of the International Phonetic Association and most of the English and French workers; and even between these widely different schools of thought there are signs of a substantial *rapprochement*, as embodied in the recommendations in the pamphlet on *Phonetic Transcription and Transliteration*, issued as a result of the International Conference on Phonetic Transcription held at Copenhagen in 1925. With regard to the nomic transcription of these languages for practical purposes, however, the position is quite otherwise. The greatest diversity still prevails, not only in widely separated regions and for widely differing languages, not only in relatively limited areas and for languages fairly closely connected, but even for different dialects of the same language existing in contiguous areas, and for the same dialect of the same language in the same area.

Various attempts have at different times been made to reconcile these divergences and to bring about, if possible, some uniform system of practical orthography in a number of different regions and such attempts have been attended with varying degrees of success. The latest of such efforts on the grand scale has been made by the recently-established International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, and its recommendations embodied in a pamphlet *The Practical Orthography of African Languages*, issued in 1927. It is true that these recommendations are chiefly intended as a guide in reducing to writing languages previously unwritten: but the question arises whether, by adopting any or all of them for languages which already have one or more systems of orthography it might not be possible to reduce the number of divergences alluded to above, and ultimately, perhaps, to reach complete uniformity over large parts of Africa. It is because of this implication that the pamphlet has aroused the widespread interest and provoked the widespread discussion with which it has met from scientific and practical men alike. The object of the present remarks is to consider the problem as existing



within the Union, to urge the greatest possible degree of unification of practical orthographies capable of attainment, and to indicate some lines upon which, in the writer's opinion, it might yet be possible to attain this urgently desirable object.

This is neither the time nor the place to stress either the desirability or the urgency of some such unification, the more so as one may confidently assume that the vast majority of those who are concerned with the native languages realise both. But for the sake of those who may not be familiar with the existing lack of uniformity over the whole of the field in some detail, we may briefly consider the present disparities, pointing out some of the most unfortunate cases of needless diversity, and finally suggesting, *as a basis for discussion, and with no dogmatic intent*, some lines of compromise upon which greater uniformity might, with good will and satisfaction on all sides, be evolved.

The only language-group within the Union which has, at the present time, but one single system of orthography is *Venda*, the literature in which is in the hands of a single body, the Berlin Missionary Society, other bodies working among the Venda people both inside the Union and across the Rhodesian border using the Berlin Mission books.

Another language-group which has but one single system of orthography within the Union is *Thonga* ("*Shangaan*"), for which but one body, the Mission Suisse Romande, is responsible; this orthography extends also to one of the extra-Union dialects of this language-group, namely *Ronga*, but for this as well as for the other Thonga dialects in Portuguese East Africa (*Puthsu*, *Tswa*, *Lenge*, etc.) there are at least three other systems in vogue by the English, American, and Portuguese bodies working among these peoples; and the differences between these orthographies are remarkable and confusing. Proceeding to the *Nguni* group, more usually known as *Zulu-Xosa*, we find the Xosa sub-group of dialects having but one orthography over the whole of its field, whereas the sister Zulu sub-group has at least three well-marked tendencies, the latest being Dr. Doke's effort to introduce I. P. A. signs and principles into the writing of Zulu, and the others falling into the "conjunctive" and "disjunctive" schools respectively, with smaller variations according to more individual tenets of orthography, with outliers in the yet again slightly different spelling of *Ndebele* in Southern Rhodesia.

When we come to the *Sotho* group, more usually known as the Suto-Chwana group, we meet differences and complexities greater still. We may for convenience sake proceed to consider this group

in each of the now generally recognised sub-groups of dialects: *Southern Sotho* of Basutoland, the Orange Free State (with the exception of the *Chwana* enclave at Thaba Nchu) and adjoining portions of Griqualand East and the Southern Transvaal; *Western Sotho* or *Chwana*, in British Bechuanaland and Griqualand West, the Bechuanaland Protectorate and much of the South-Western Transvaal, with an enclave round Thaba Nchu in the Orange Free State; and *Central* or *Transvaal Sotho* or *Pedi*, in the Northern, Central, Eastern and parts of the Western Transvaal, with its chief centre for the literary form of the language among the BaPedi of Sekukuniland giving its name to the whole sub-group. Southern Sotho, fortunately, has but one orthography, fixed at one of the conferences alluded to previously, and, perhaps partly for this reason, is fast becoming the literary language of the Sotho-speaking *intelligentsia*. Western Sotho or Chwana has two well-marked groups of orthographies, with about three species in each group; Central or Transvaal Sotho glories in a number of orthographies which is greater than the present number of ill-defined dialects of that sub-group. In addition, we must not forget that, for this as well as for the other groups, the introduction of a new system of orthography by any body responsible for producing literature in any given dialect does not mean anything but the slowest and most reluctant abandonment of the previous systems in vogue, so that to-day Sotho orthography in the Central sub-group at least, depends, in Sam Weller's classic phrase, "upon the taste and fancy of the speller", the result being an *olla podrida* that can be more readily imagined than described. It is only fair to add that more recently great efforts have been made here, not only to evolve a satisfactory orthography for these dialects, but also to unify the existing heterogeneous practice. Such an effort is being made by the Transvaal Native Teachers' Association, which has unfortunately, however, not yet brought out its recommendations at the time of writing.

Whatever may be the reasons, whatever, in some few cases, the justification for this state of affairs will be no concern of ours here. But taking it as axiomatic that a change in the direction of unification must come, and that soon, we may pause to refute two arguments that are sure to be raised in order to prevent or delay such a change, and pass on to consider how such a change could and should be brought about. The argument that a certain amount of intellectual and other dislocation would be involved in passing from one set of systems to another unified system may be granted to some degree; but that such dislocation, in view of the still startlingly great amount of illiteracy among the natives of this country, can be very great, seems

extremely doubtful ; and the suggestion that it can be greater than the present amount of dislocation caused by the multiplicity, illogicality and complexity of systems can surely not hold water for a moment. The economic argument would seem more powerful : there will certainly be an appreciable initial cost involved in scrapping, either gradually or at once, books in multitudinous and antiquated systems of writing, and changing their contents into the new orthography to be evolved, in fresh editions. But it must be remembered that the cost of producing necessarily very limited editions of books in a variety of spellings must in the long run largely outweigh the cost of a transfer such as may be necessitated if the change were pressed for now. That the change will come seems inevitable, and the longer it is delayed the greater will be the initial outlay involved. There seems no doubt to the writer's mind that, if the change were introduced soon, and effected gradually, the inevitable initial cost would be reduced to a minimum, and its benefits would be found worth while. We may well learn from all history in Europe, and from more modern tendencies in America, as with machines so with spelling systems, the economic wisdom of scrapping, at almost any initial cost, the antiquated and the hindering.

As to a method of effecting the change, one fears that the mere holding of a conference by a body which has no central authority in the country will not be effective. Such conferences have in the past met with but limited success chiefly for the reason that the delegates to them have not, except in the fewest cases, had the authority to bind the bodies they represented to the decisions ultimately arrived at, and have had less than no influence on anyone outside. Arguments such as those cited above, and others less worthy, have nearly always prevented any wholesale or universal acceptance of the best and most pious of resolutions and schemes. The only solution for this kind of *impasse* which the writer can at present see is state action, on lines similar to those which are the regular rule in Europe and America in this and similar educational fields. The central authority dealing with native education should, it is submitted, call a conference to decide upon the basis of the new orthographies in the native languages, and to evolve systems, or, if possible, one single system, for all the languages within the Union : such conference should be fully representative of all shades of opinion, scientific and practical, official and private, European and native : it should be understood at the outset that there must be no minority reports, and that the delegates to it have the power to bind the bodies they represent to the compromises and other decisions arrived at : and, once some sort of uniformity is attained, the central authority should enforce



such uniformity by all the legal and moral means in its power: the grant or withholding of financial aid to schools, the recognition and grading of schools and teachers, the promotion of teachers and inspectorate, all these can be brought into play. A reasonable period of transition should be allowed, both to test out the virtues and defects of the system proposed, during which time editions of books printed in the new script should be as small as possible; and to give those bodies which find themselves faced with heavy stocks of books in the older orthographies time and opportunity to scrap them at the least loss to themselves: after this preliminary period of grace the new system should come into force with absolute rigour, in the native schools, in all official texts in the native languages, from notices in the press to sign-boards at stations. After the briefest span of time no coercion will be necessary, and few will remember and none will regret that it was once otherwise.

It is not possible here to discuss exhaustively the principles upon which a satisfactory practical orthography should be based; nor indeed is it very necessary; since, on the whole, opinion on the point is well on the way to being crystallised into not more than two schools, albeit that these schools are fairly widely different: on the one hand we have the monotype-cum-digraph school favoured chiefly by I. P. A. followers, and on the other the digraph-cum-diacritic school of the followers of the German tendency. It may be remarked in passing that most of the present systems of writing the South African Bantu languages fall within the latter category, and it seems to the present writer that the way of compromise and salvation lies most probably in a middle course between these two, with the balances lightly weighted in favour of the latter system—not because of any inherent superiority thereof, (indeed the monotype in its purity would seem to be closer to the ideal), but because of two facts which, for the present at least, would seem insurmountable: the one, mentioned above, that past systems have been based, as far as they have been based, chiefly on the principles of the latter; and the other, that the initial cost and inconvenience of introducing many monotypes would probably kill outright any thoroughgoing attempt to introduce them—a regrettable fact, perhaps, but one which we cannot avoid facing. One would therefore be inclined to favour digraphs, even trigraphs, for which the ordinary types available in our printing offices and typewriters can be used, and take refuge in either a monotype or some simple and forcible diacritic letter only in the last resort when the evolution of a satisfactory digraph or trigraph is impossible or would lead to too much confusion or illogicality.



But here we are met by a great difficulty indeed. It is possible to evolve a more or less unsatisfactory orthography without the use of a single diacritic or fresh monotype for one language, as has been done in Zulu as written by most of its students: it is possible to evolve a really satisfactory script with the use of but two diacritic signs, one of which could have been omitted, and a number of digraphs, for one language, as has been done in the case of Venda. But can it be possible to evolve, on the latter basis, a script which will be unequivocally suited to represent all the languages in the Union? We are faced with the choice between series of alternatives, none of them reassuring: we must employ fresh monotypes or diacritical letters, or be illogical in our digraphs: or, on the other hand, we may have fairly logical digraphs with regard to one language, but unsuitable or impossible with regard to another. We must have an elaborate set of conventions as to the pronunciation of one or other symbol in different dialects of the same language and in different languages; or, yet again, we must so radically recast the orthography of even the most simple and obvious sounds in the various languages, for the sake of uniformity and clearness, that we run serious risk of being revolutionaries instead of reformers. The problem bristles with difficulties: yet one feels that some solution is possible. And to that end we may examine in some detail what the position is in certain languages and dialects, and according to the most generally established system of orthography; and by a series of compromises, none of them very logical, but all directed towards the one end of practical uniformity, we may find light.

The languages and dialects which will be taken as examples, the scripts which will be considered, and the abbreviations by which each will be referred to here, are shown in the list below, which makes no claim to be exhaustive, but hopes merely to be typical and illustrative for the purpose of our argument.

Group	Sub-Group	Language, Dialect or Area.	Used by	Abbreviation
Sotho	Southern	Basutoland	Paris Mission and <i>passim</i>	SSP
do.	Central	Pedi-Transvaal	Berlin Mission	SCB
do.	do.	Tlokwa-Trans- vaal	Franz & Mathabathe	SCFM
do.	do.	Pedi-Transvaal	Beyer	SCBR
do.	Western	Tlhaping etc.	London Mission	SWL
Chwana	do.	Rolong etc.	Anglican Mission	SWA
do.	do.	Hurutshe etc.	Hermannsburg	SWH
Thonga	Djonga	Transvaal "Shangaan"	Swiss Mission	TS.
Venda	Venda	Venda	Berlin Mission	VB
Nguni	Zulu	Zulu-Natal <i>passim</i> . etc.	Bryant	NZB
do.	Xosa	Xosa-Cape <i>passim</i> etc.	Kropf	NXK

We will consider the sounds, and their representation, in groups in the various languages and dialects†.

## VOWELS

Seven vowel-sounds, *a, ε, e, i, ɔ, o, u*, are common to all the languages, and two others, *ɪ, (\*)* occur in the Sotho group and perhaps elsewhere. These latter, while most probably not separate phonemes like the other seven, are so different in quality that the question of giving them separate representation in the languages in which they occur might well be considered, more especially as attempts to distinguish them have been made more or less systematically as it is in these languages. They may be grouped as follows :—

	<i>a</i>	<i>ε</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>ɪ</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ɔ</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>(*)</i>
SSP	á	è, e	e	e	ì	o	o, ò	u	o
SCB	α	ê	e	i	i	ô	o	u	u
SCFM	a	e	e	e	i	o	o	u	o
SCBR	a	è	e	i	i	ò	o	u	o
SWL	a	è	e	e	i	ò	o	u	o
SWA	a	è	e	é	i	ò	o	u	ó
SWH	a	è	e	i	i	ò	o	u	ó
TS	a	e	e	-	i	o	o	u	-
VB	a	e	e	-	i	o	o	u	-
NZB	a	e	e	-	i	o	o	u	-
NXK	a	e	e	-	i	o	o	u	-

Here we have a comparatively simple case, where the number of sounds is small, the sounds are identical or very slightly differentiated in the various dialects, and their representation fairly uniform in the orthographies. There can be no difference as to the representation

† Owing to typographical difficulties it has been found necessary to represent the following sounds as indicated :—

Implosive *b* is indicated by *B*.

High *o* is indicated by *ó*.

Theta is indicated by th.

Inverted *Omega* by *(\*)*.

of the five sounds *a, e, i, o, u*; but in the majority of the languages and dialects at least two sounds *ε, o*, are phonemically distinct from the sounds *e* and *o*, for which the symbols *e* and *o* respectively are in use, and different symbols must be agreed upon for them, at least where the difference between these sounds and *e* and *o* is phonemically distinct, and perhaps also where the difference, though not phonemic, is acoustically so great that the employment of the ordinary symbols *e* and *o* respectively would necessitate a convention as to the varying values of the phoneme in different circumstances. Here we have the choice between the employment of a fresh type, such as is proposed by the I. P. A. followers, and the use of a diacritic. Since in this case the diacritic needed is readily available in our printing offices, and in the less restricted class of typewriter, and since moreover a diacritic has been used in previous scripts, we would recommend its use here. As to which diacritic is to be used, one has the choice between *e* (and *o*) with grave accent, circumflex accent, and with the underline: and since the majority of previous scripts have employed the grave accent, it is that which to the present writer would seem the most practical way out. As to the marking of the difference between *e* and *i* on the one hand and *ī* on the other, and *o* and *u* on the one hand and (\*) on the other, we may ask first whether the difference is phonemic or acoustically very great: if we consider not, we may leave the respective difference unmarked, and use either *e* or *i*, or *o* or *u* respectively, but consistently, for the sound. If we think it is, then we may, in the same way as before, employ a diacritic, such as the acute accent used in one of the orthographies. Our series of vowels *a, ε, e, i, o, u, ī, (\*)* would thus be written *a, ê, e, î, ô, o, u, é, ó*, respectively.

### SEMI-VOWELS

The semi-vowels *w* and *are j* represented as follows:

	w	j
SSP	o? u	e
SCB	o, u	e
SCFM	o (w)	e (y)
SCBR	w, o, u	y, e
SWL	w, o	y, e
SWA	o	e
SWH	ø, u	e
TS	w	y
VB	w	y
NZB	w	y
NXK	w	y

Here we have three out of the four main language-groups in the Union consistent in using the symbols *w* and *y*, the fourth sharply divided between the use of these symbols and the more or less inconsistent balance between *o* and *u*. This point has been one of the most controversial in all the long history of Sotho orthography. At the risk of starting the controversy afresh, we must here point out certain factors which seem to us to settle the balance in favour of the employment of *w* and *y*. First there is the fact mentioned above, that the other language-groups use these symbols for these sounds. And in this connection we may say that, whatever difference there may be in theory between vocalic and semivocalic *o* or *u* and *e*, this difference is so small even in slow speech, and disappears so readily at the slightest acceleration, that the deliberate perpetuation of an unsatisfactory representation of the semivocalic for the sake of the few cases where the separate representation of the vocalic sounds may be of theoretical value cannot be defended. To take but one case in point : with the use of semivocalic *w* we may easily distinguish the three Sotho words *kwa*, "at, there", *koa*, "to heap up", and *kua*, "to call out" ; without the use of this symbol we cannot distinguish between them except by the clumsy method of writing *kwa* as *koa* or *kua*, *koa* as *koca* and *kua* as *kwoa* or *kuua*. It may be further added that most of the objection against the use of *w* on this score comes from its non-existence in French except in foreign words, and its use in German and Dutch for a different sound, and a similar argument is used as regards *y*. Such arguments should however not weigh with us. Accordingly we would represent these semivocalic *w* and *y* by *w* and *y*, reserving the symbols *o*, *u* and *e* for the vocalic sounds.

## CONSONANTS

(a) *Labials*

An illustrative list of the labials and their representation follows :

[illegible]



The symbols in brackets are those used for sounds which occur in the language but rarely, or purely dialectically, or which have been taken in from a European language, and in representing which the ordinary European equivalent letter is used. Several sounds have been omitted from this table, which is merely illustrative.

All the systems are agreed, as we see here and elsewhere, upon representing aspiration by *h*, and we have the pairs *p*, *ph*, *t*, *th*, *k*, *kh*, as in phonetic script. Unfortunately *h* is also used for a variety of other uses, some of which will appear later, and some of which we see in the table here before us: we may consider these uses one by one. To represent Zulu explosive *b* by *bh* in contradistinction to implosive *ɓ*, which is represented by *b*, as in Karanga, may perhaps be justifiable if we regard Zulu alone, and do not mind for how many different purposes we use *h*. When we hear however that in at least one dialect of *Chwana* we appear to have an aspirated *bh* proper, its use seems somewhat questionable. Separate representation the sounds must have, and, if we do not wish to use the fresh symbol *ɓ* we might do worse than fall back on the Xosa device of using *b'* to represent *b*, and *b* to represent *ɓ*, which incidentally occurs more frequently. The use of *h* in the combination *sh* used for / will be discussed later. Its use in the combination *phw* in Venda seems rather far-fetched, as there is a greater difference than one of aspiration pure and simple between *px* and *pχ*. In the same way its use to distinguish *f* and *β* from *f* and *v* respectively in the same language is not based on aspirating quality. Nevertheless one might, as a compromise, use *h* as a sort of diacritic with variable value—it may be mentioned that Venda orthography works extremely well in actual practice.—In any case it seems clear that we are faced with the choice between this and the necessity for using a number of fresh symbols. Without going further into the question one may say that, as a practical compromise which might be likely to obtain a fair amount of general agreement, we would propose the acceptance of the first alternative, and suggest for these sounds the symbols *p*, *ph*, *py*, *psh*, *b'*, *b*, *pg*, *px*, *fh*, *vh*, *f*, *v*, *bg*. It is not a happy compromise; its only virtue is that it is nearest to what has been written so far, and that it seems likely to work. Perhaps we may establish the convention that in those languages where *b* alone occurs it shall be represented by *b*, and in those where *b* and *ɓ* occur, the former shall be represented by *b'* and the latter, because it is the more frequent, by *b*.

*b. Some palatals, alveolars, cerebrals, and dentals*

	/	ʒ	ɗ	ʃ	ɬ	l	t	ʈ	ny
SSP	sh	j	hl	—	—	l	t	—	ny
SCB	sh	y	hl	—	—	l	t	—	ny
SCFM	sh	y, j	hl	—	—	l	t	—	ny
SCBR	sh	y	hl	—	—	l	t	—	ny
SWL	sh	—	—	—	—	l	t	—	ny
SWA	sh	—	—	—	—	l	t	—	ny
SWH	sh	—	—	—	—	l	t	—	ny
TS	š	ž	hl	dl	(l)	l	t	—	ny
VB	sh	zh	—	—	ɬ	l	t	ʈ	ny
NZB	sh	—	hl	dhl	—	l	t	—	ny
NXX	sh	—	hl	dl	—	l	t	—	ny

It may be convenient here to discuss these sounds not merely in isolation but also as they occur in combinations, since it is the orthography of such combinations that is the chief difficulty. It will be remarked that / is written *sh* in all but one of the orthographies, and the combination *t/* might thus be written *tsh* without any great difficulty if in the same language in which it occurs there does not also occur *tsh*, which we cannot therefore write with the same symbols. A way out may perhaps be found in the practice of the Berlin Mission in writing this combination *ths*; not an ideal, it is granted, but a practical possibility, since the sound th for which the combination *th* might be employed (as e.g. in *Herero*) does not occur in any of the South African Bantu languages. It must be remembered however that we have *t/* as well as *t/h*, and a new symbol must be provided for this. At the risk of being called pedantic one might draw attention to the possibility of writing a tetragraph in the practical orthography, since even the strictly phonetic needs a trigraph to represent the sounds with any degree of accuracy: but since no one with a practical orthography in view will propose writing a tetragraph, it may be necessary here to fall back on the illogical but practically serviceable

expedient of writing *ch*, as is done in Sotho. When it comes to differentiating, not between *t/* and *t/h*, but between *tz* and either *t/* or *t/h*, we are faced with yet a further difficulty, and we have to consider afresh what symbol we are to adopt for the second element of the combination: *z*, we have seen, is represented by a variety of symbols to all of which there are strong objections which need perhaps not be detailed at this stage of our discussion: the least objectionable of these seems to be *zh*, chiefly because it seems so unambiguous: and, using this symbol in combination we may surely differentiate between *t/* and *tz* by writing them as *tsh* and *tzh* respectively, with the further addition of *dzh* for *dz* and the compromise *ch* for *t/h*.

When we come to the representation of *ɬ* and *ɮ* we are on much-disputed ground. Sotho has *ɬ* and *tɬ*, Zulu and Xosa have *ɬ* and *ɮ*, Shangaan has *ɬ*, *tɬ*, and *dɬ*. Sotho has in addition *tl*, best described perhaps as a laterally exploded *t*. We must try to avoid a fresh symbol for both these sounds if we can, and use such compromise symbols as we can find in a logical way in the combinations. We might thus write the established *hl* for *ɬ*, writing *thl* for Sotho and Thonga *tɬ*. The representation of *ɮ* is less easy, but here again it seems we may make shift with *dhl*, using *dl* for Thonga *dɬ* which is often no more than laterally exploded *d*; and this we would do on the same principle that the voiceless clicks in Zulu and Xosa have been represented by the single click-symbols *c*, *q*, *x*, and the voiced one by the addition of the symbol *g* in the combinations *gc*, *gq*, *gx*. We would thus write *ɬ*, *ɮ*, *tl*, *dl*, as *hl*, *dhl*, *tl*, *dl* respectively, and *tɬ* as *thl*. There seems no special virtue in writing *tlh* any more than in writing *tsh*, and for the same reason there seems no objection, while it falls more into line with the symbol for the single sound outside of the combination.

We must now briefly indicate the special problem of Venda with its cerebrals and interdentalals, and of Thonga with its alveolars and alveolars with slight affricate explosion.

Thonga has the ordinary alveolar plosives *t* and *d*, a set of parallel plosives with slight alveolar affrication peculiar to Thonga apparently, and what appear to be the fully affricate forms of these, the series running *t*, *d*, *ts*, *dz*, *tsʰ*, *dzʰ*; These are ordinarily written *t*, *t*, *ty* and *d*, *ɖ*, *dy* respectively. The use of the dot as diacritic seems to be peculiarly unfortunate: separate representation the sounds must have, and we are once more faced with the problem of a fresh monotype, a diacritic, or a digraph. Here there seems some case for a diacritic, but a clearer and typographically safer one: and we might do worse than adopt, say, a cedilla.



The Venda problem is similar, though simpler. Venda has the cerebral series *t, d, l, n*, paralleled by the interdental series *ʈ, ɖ, ɭ, ɳ*. Adopting as our main convention that *t, d, l, n* may stand for the cerebrals, we have to distinguish the interdental series. Here again it seems we may be well advised to adhere to a simple and clear diacritic, and write *ʈ, ɖ, ɭ, ɳ* as is done in the regular Venda orthography or perhaps use the underline which is available more readily and cheaply, and write *t̲, d̲, l̲, n̲*.

It would not seem necessary to say very much about *n*, which seems to be adequately and unambiguously represented by *ny*, and the introduction of a fresh symbol would not be justified except if one were to introduce quite a large number of fresh types which have already been rejected for reasons of convenience or economy.

As a concluding illustration, we may consider the representation of the gutturals. *k* and *kh*, where they occur, are with a minimum of inconsistent exceptions represented by *k* and *kh*, though the latter symbol unfortunately does duty, in some dialects of Southern Sesuto, for *kx*, which is represented in the other Sotho dialects by *kg*; *g*, where it occurs, is represented by *g*, which, again very unfortunately, is used in Sotho to represent *x*, and also *ɣ*: but as *g* does not occur in the latter group this convention might stand. The representation of *x* in Zulu-Xosa gives rise to much difficulty however, since here *g* stands for *g* and *x* stands for the lateral click: a way out has been sought by representing this sound by *r*, since *r* does not occur in this group except in foreign words.

One feels here that the differences at least between the two great language-groups Sotho and Nguni are irreconcilable, and that no good purpose can be served by attempting to unify the orthography of these, at least for the present. Indeed, this conviction is borne in on one throughout the enquiry which has been made. All we can hope for at present is to unify the orthography of the groups internally, as much as possible in the ultimate direction of total uniformity. Complete uniformity will not be attained without the introduction of many new symbols, which, for practical purposes, at present, is impossible. Ways out of inconsistencies which are misleading have been suggested by means of other inconsistencies, and shifts and compromises with logicity; but it is hoped that these, whatever their other faults may be, are at least not misleading. The object in view throughout has been to suggest ways of unification and clarification involving the least possible departures from accepted ways, and the least possible use of new symbols or diacritics, in the belief that the intelligent use of the digraph or trigraph solves many if not all the knotty points. If the discussion helps in any way to clarify the issues and to stimulate discussion and better still compromise, the object of this attempt will have been served and well rewarded.





# THE MBILA OR NATIVE PIANO OF THE T/OPI TRIBE

By the Rev. HENRI PHILIPPE JUNOD.  
Swiss Mission, Maujacafe, P.E.A.

As is well known, the xylophone is found almost everywhere amongst Bantu tribes, and therefore it might appear as an exaggeration to attribute it to a special and very small tribe, the Vat/opi. But this interesting instrument has been developed by the T/opi people with such a perfection that we might be justified in considering it as a distinct and genuine production of the T/opi genius. The other Bantu tribes surrounding them do not hesitate to call the Vat/opi the "masters" of the *mbila*.

Let me, to begin with, explain that a distinction is necessary between two different native instruments: the *mbila* and the *malimba* or *vulimba*. The *malimba* is a kind of small portable piano, whose keys are made out of old nails or any iron implement available. These have been flattened, cut into varying lengths so as to produce different sounds, and fixed between two other pieces of iron on a dry piece of wood, which is sometimes hollowed downwards to leave a flat sounding box. The flattened extremities of the nails are bent upwards, and the player, holding the whole instrument with the hands, twangs the nails with the thumbs. Sometimes he uses an empty tin as sounding box and attains a remarkable resonance. This instrument is the true *malimba*, which is not widely known in T/opiland, and which seems to be the native piano of the Vandzau. As some Central Bantu tribes call the true *mbila* *malimba*, I have thought it necessary to draw the reader's attention to the difference between the instruments.<sup>1</sup>

In this article I shall deal with the true xylophone or *mbila*. In T/opiland the native piano is called either *mbila* or *muhambi*. *Mbila* (Class *yi-ti*, pl.: *timbila*) is a word which is very well known in the whole country of Portuguese East Africa, south of the Sabi River, and is understood by Ronga, Thonga or Shangaan, Lenge, T/opi, Tonga people of Inhambane (*Vak'kiz*), and probably even by Ndzuu people as well. *Muhambi* is a /ilenge word, understood also in true T/opiland<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> I am told by Dr C. M. Doke that amongst Lamba people the *amalimba*—is actually the *mbila*, whereas the term *imbila* is applied there to a "calabash drum."

<sup>2</sup> In the class of nouns *m mi* - the syllabic *m* becomes *mu* before the aspirated *h*.

## I. GENERAL

There is no evidence in T/opiland to show that the making of the piano was restricted to one special clan or to special families. Ntomu Buke, one of my best informants, says very definitely that anyone can make a *mbila* if he puts his heart into the job. The hand only is the talisman of the artist, and the tree is judged by its fruits.

Generally, when a T/opi native wants to make a piano, he goes to a well known maker, and borrows one of his pianos. He carefully takes mental note (T/opi being still an unwritten language) of the different woods employed, and begins to work. When he has completed his piano, he gives his model back to the owner, and pays a certain amount of money or gives a goat for the loan. One thinks of the way in which the first watchmakers in our Swiss Jura managed to get their extraordinary skill, *mutatis mutandis*.

As to the *mbila*'s origin little is to be found. The native piano is known to have always existed amongst T/opi people. It is a T/opi feature, and as far back in the past as T/opi people have to look to find the roots of their social unity, the *mbila* is present in their memories. As the native piano is to be found in many other Bantu tribes, we suggest as very probable that the instrument existed before the actual differentiation of the existing tribes. The great point for T/opi people is that they have brought it to a very remarkable perfection. They are truly the "masters" of the *timbila*.

Ntomu Buke, who is an old man, told me that the *VakaMbuluvuzi*, or *NyaMtumbu* people, (cf. *Bantu Studies*, July 1927) borrowed their first *mbila* from the *VakaTsinyandana* or *Madondere* people, but that, on the whole, the actual clans found the instrument amongst the inhabitants of the Lebombo Hills on the north, the *Vakadibombwe*. Who these people were, it is difficult to ascertain. The actual inhabitants of this region are Thonga people of the Tengwe clans.

## II. DIFFERENT KINDS OF TIMBILA

There are four different kinds of *timbila*, or at least four different sizes of T/opi pianos, as they are not fundamentally different.

The *tsilandzana* (cl: *tsi-tsi*, pl: *tsilandzana*) or *malandzana* (cl: *ma*, pl: *vamalandzana*) is the usual one. The T/opi use the two terms without distinction. This piano has generally twelve keys. In old times it had invariably ten keys, but in the last twenty years the makers have put twelve or even fourteen keys. But I have not seen more than that in T/opiland.

The *dibinde* (cl: *di-ma*, pl. *mabinde*) has also ten keys and its scale comes immediately below the *tsilandzana*, somewhat like the cello below the violin,

Such also is the *didole* with bigger keys, but I have had no opportunity of studying the exact relation between the *dibinde* and the *didole* (cl: *di-ma*, pl: *madole*).

The *tsikhulu* (cl: *tji-tsi*, pl. *tsikhulu*) has only one, two, three or four very large keys, sounding like a big drum, exceedingly low, almost as low as a European ear is able to distinguish between a sound and a mere vibration.

It is interesting to note that we have here the three great distinctions of European orchestras.:

the soprano, violin or flute, being the *tfilandzana*,  
the alto, cello or clarinet, being the *dibinde* or the *didole*.  
the bass being the *tsikhulu*.

Generally an able maker of *timbila* is likely to make any one of these four kinds of native pianos. But of course, there is a notable difference of achievement between individuals. The skill of Ntomu Buke is not easily beaten. Some of his pianos are real jewels, especially one *tfilandzana* I had the good fortune to buy, which is a real piece of art. The proportions in that special instrument are almost perfect, and I must confess that I could not call such a maker an unskilled one. A good example of his skill is also to be seen at the Witwatersrand University's museum in the department of Bantu Studies.

### III. THE MAKING OF A MBILA

#### A. Different parts of the instrument

1. The "*mrwalo*" (cl: *m-mi*, pl: *mirwalo* — derived from the verb *kurwala* = to carry, to support) or "the stand" consists of three different parts. (cf. Diagram I) The stand itself is one long piece of wood, pierced with as many holes as the *mbila* has keys, 10, 12, or 14. The two other parts of the *mrwalo* are the two legs in which two holes are pierced to admit the two ends of the stand itself. The *mrwalo* is generally made of the *mkusu* tree (cl. *m-mi*, pl: *mikusu* — the *ma-fureira* of the Portuguese or *Trichilia emetica*).

2. The *mrari* is the curved branch which forms the frame on which the strings and straps holding the keys will be attached. It is made out of *msepapa* wood (cl: *m-mi*, pl: *msepapa*), a small tree or even a shrub, whose wood is very flexible and tender. To carve it is very delicate work. The maker chooses a straight branch, without defects, takes out the bark when still freshly cut, and curves the wood little by little, wrapping the edges with green pineapple leaves, lest the wood should crack, and in order to let it dry slowly. The branch thus curved is held between three pieces of wood, driven into the ground at



right angles, and dries there for some days. As will be understood, the making of such a piece is not easy and an artist can often be judged by the result obtained on the *mrari* (cf. Diagram II).

3. The frame has now been made. The two ends of the stand are pushed through the holes in the two legs, and also into the two holes pierced in the flattened extremities of the *mrari*. Then two strong strings are fixed between these ends to support the keys.

These strings, the *tisinga*, (cl: *li-ti*, sing. *lisinga*) are made out of strong material, either ox skin or fibres of the *mtondo* tree, well prepared and well stretched. These strings pass through the *vamangana* (cl: *m—va*, sing. *nyamangana*) or small supports placed between the keys. Two holes are pierced for that purpose, and in that way the two *lisinga* are kept at a regular distance from one another (cf. Diagram III).

4. The *vamangana* or small wooden supports, carved in *mkusu* or *ntsanyi* wood, and decorated with parallel oblique incised lines or hatching, are placed between every pair of keys. The decoration of the *vamangana* is also applied to the ends of the curved branch or *mrari*: (cf. Diagram III).

5. Then comes the making of the keys, the *makhokhoma*. (cl: *di-ma*, sing : *dikhokhoma*). They are made out of the wood of the *mwendze* (cl: *m-mi*, pl : *miwendze*), a big tree with large leaves—resembling a little the *mutu* of the Vathonga, a species of the *Asclepiadaceae* family. The old Vatsopi cut a great number of these trees, whose heart is harder than the mahogany itself (false mahogany or *Azelia Cuanensis*). They used them as poles for their strong block-houses in their bloody wars with Gungunyana's soldiers. The maker of a *mbila* finds thus plenty of material already prepared, and as dry as necessary. When the maker does not find a dry tree, he cuts down a green one, and puts the whole stem in a big fire in order to let all the sap run out. He then selects a good piece of wood, which he examines carefully, trying to obtain an even density everywhere. Then the craftsman carves it to the different shapes wanted for the different keys. He tries to attain a perfect similarity with his model. But, as the wood, however carefully he might select it, has not an equal density everywhere, he tunes the key by the ear. Ntomu Buke told me that this operation is practised by cutting out the wood in the middle of the under-surface of the key, just above the hole of the stand and sounding box. By doing so the maker lowers the tone. If he goes too low, the craftsman will shave some wood on the same under-surface, at the upper

I.

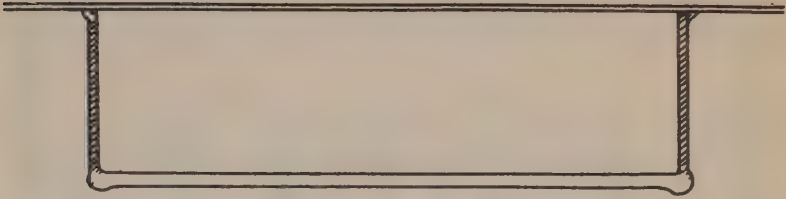


1.  
*Mrwalo* (Stand)



2.  
Legs.

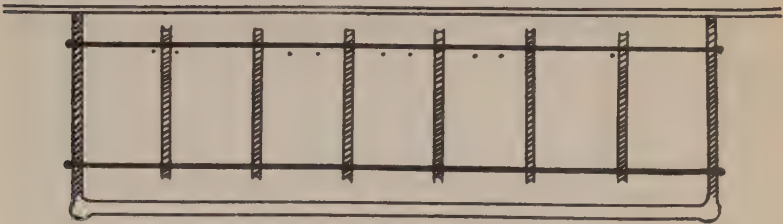
II.



*Mrari*

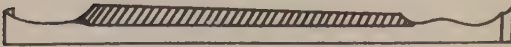
III.

(a)



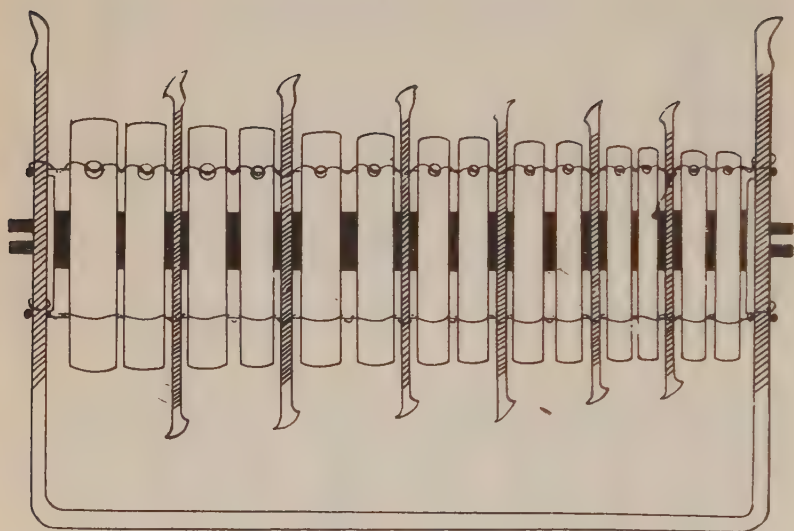
*Tisinga* (the horizontal strings) and  
*Vamangana* (the inner supports)

(b)



*Nyamangane*. Side view.

IV.



*Makhokhoma* (keys) held in position by  
*tikhole* (soft skin straps).

extremity above the keys. Ntomu says it raises the tone; I have been unable to verify this assertion.

No doubt the making of the *makhokhoma* is not easy, but the tuning is obviously the most delicate task, and it is very interesting to observe a good maker tuning a new instrument. He tries the key, compares its tone with that of his model, puts his ear to it, sometimes approving unconsciously, and very often attains a perfect similarity of tone, which proves that the Bantu people have a correct ear, and that their scale, different as may be from ours, is not a hazard but a product of the will and taste of the people. (cf. Diagram IV).

6. The *dikhokhoma* or key, being placed on the two supporting strings is firmly fixed on them with two other straps, the *tikhole* (cl: *li-ti*, sing: *likhole*)—but not too firmly however, leaving a certain amount of vibration to the key. The *tikhole* are made out of a soft skin, generally goat's skin. From one end of the *mrari* or bow, the upper *likhole* is now passed under the big string or *lisinga*, then over the key, passing through a hole in the key itself, then under the string again, then back through the hole and over the same first key, now under the string between the two first keys, then above the second key in the same way, now under the *lisinga* and round the first support or *nyamangana*, and so on (cf. Diagram IV).

7. The sounding boxes or *mathamba* (cl: *di-ma*, sing. *dithamba*) entail a very patient search. They are the shells of the fruit of the *thamba* or *nsala* tree of the Vathonga (*Strychnos spinosa*). In a well made piano, they must correspond in size to the keys or *makhokhoma*; that is to say, the first key of the *tfilandzana* for example, being a rather large one, the first *dithamba* must also be rather large—the second a little smaller, and so on to the last one, which is very small. Each sounding box is very tightly attached to the stand, so that the hole made in its surface corresponds exactly to the hole of the stand, or *mrwalo*. The strings employed for this purpose are the fibres of the leaves of the *mlala* palm tree, so largely used in basketry. All spaces between the boxes and the stand as well as the small holes which admit the *milala* strings are well closed, or carefully covered with wax or *muhula* so as to render the sounding box airtight.

8. A hole is made on the side of each *dithamba* or shell, and on it is placed a small macrophone and a vibrator. The sounding box is placed on the *t/iwawa* (cl. *t/i-tsi*, pl: *tsiwawa*) or small macrophones, exactly on the side hole of the shell. These macrophones are fixed to the sounding box with wax (*muhula*). When the wax has dried the macrophones hold well in their places. The *tsiwawa* must also be



proportionate in size to the sounding boxes and the keys; and therefore a very patient search is necessary to procure them. These *tsiwawa* are the shells of the fruit of the *mh ugo* or rubber tree (*Landolphia kirkii*) (cf. Diagram V).

9. The makers of the *timbila* were not pleased with the sound obtained in that way, and so thought of making a small vibrator, placed on the side hole of the sounding boxes. These vibrators or *makhosi* (cl: *di-ma*, sing. *dikhosi*) are made out of the diaphragm of a small rodent, the *khweva* or *hlati* of the Vathonga, a kind of small jerboa. This vibrator is also fixed to the hole with wax.

This inadequate description of the making of a *mbila* will give an idea of the difficulty of this work, and will perhaps show how much ingenuity there is sometimes in the native mind, which many regard as altogether unproductive.

After this it is not difficult to explain how disappointing the *timbila* to be heard on the mines of the Witwatersrand are to any one who has had the privilege of hearing a genuine band of T/opi pianos. These have very little in common with the noisy and metallic *timbila* of the mines. The *makhokhoma* of the native pianos on the Witwatersrand are very different from those made at home, in T/opiland. No *muendze* is available and the keys are made out of planks or any flooring board to be found. This light wood is unable to give the beautiful quality of tone and the neat sound of the hard wood of the bush. Still worse are the *mathamba* which, in Johannesburg, are made out of old tins of different sizes; it is a pity to compare the metallic sound obtained in that way with the beautiful effect of Madatin's orchestra.

Still it is extraordinary that even in these conditions the musical genius of the T/opi people is so evident, that it impresses itself upon the musician who hears the T/opi bands on the mines.

#### CUSTOMS CONNECTED WITH THE MAKING OF A MBILA

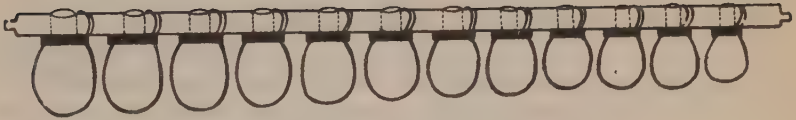
It is not an easy task to grasp fully the significance of native customs and I have not been able to find very much on this particular subject. However, the idea of "medicines and magic" seems to be not altogether absent in the making of a *mbila*.

Ntomu Buke has been given the recipe for the "potent" making of a piano. It was given to him by his father who was also a well known maker.

It is first necessary to find many *mirende* (cl: *m-mi*, sing: *mrende*) or medicines. The maker must find the roots of a number of trees; the *t/inungunungu*, the *dikwayakwaya*, the *mrangelengguva*, the li-

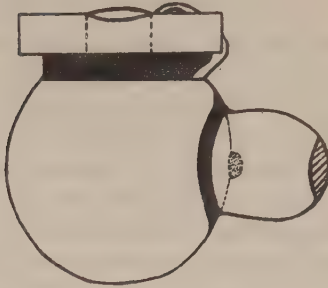
V.

(a)



*Mathamba* (Sounding Boxes) held in position on the *mrwalo* by means of *mlala* fibres, the *tsiwawa* (macrophones) being made airtight with *mukula* (wax)

(b)



1                      3                      2

1. *Lithamba* (Sounding Box)
2. *T/iwawa* (Macrophone)
3. *Dikhosi* (Vibrator) within the macrophone



*kumbakumba*, the *likwakwati*, the *ntsantsa* and the *nama*. These roots are burnt and the ashes preserved. Then he must find the larynx of a lion, *mkolo wa ngonyama*, burn it and preserve the ashes. The same must be done with the head of a big stilt walker, the *nyamangana* whose voice is very strong and whose cry is very strange. Lastly, he must cut off the head of a small song bird, the *dirututu*, burn it, and preserve the ashes.

All these ashes are then coagulated with *mnyatsi* or the fat obtained from the *mafireira* (*Trichilia emetica*). It is then the *mbila* medicine and is put into a pot.

This medicine is used to rub the *mbila* thoroughly, especially at the orifices. "Well", said Ntomu, "then the *mbila* is bound to sound very loud (*Mbila yi na hanela kupfumisa kaditsuri*.)

The interesting point in this description of the *mbila* is the idea which underlies the use of a certain number of substances: The larynx of the lion, even when pounded into ashes will magically preserve the terrific power of the lion's roaring, and impart it to the instrument. The strange cry of the *nyamangana*, which nobody can hear without a feeling of uneasiness, will be imparted in the same way to the piano by the bird's head being pounded into ashes, and so too will the *mbila* possess the suavity of the *marututu's* song.

We may have here a good example of sympathetic magic. But, in these questions, one would do well to remember the wise sentence of Bishop Callaway in his book "The Religious System of the Amazulu" (1870): "Nothing is more easy than to enquire of heathen savages the character of their creed, and during the conversation to impart to them great truths and ideas which they never heard before....." And however vast may be our actual knowledge of primitive life and mentality, before admitting fundamental theories let us remember the nice Thonga proverb: "*U nga tsutsu-meli huku, u tamele munyu mankeni*" i.e. "Don't run after the hare with salt in your hand". Do not be too hasty with a solution.

#### IV PLAYING ON THE TIMBILA

This is also a very difficult subject, because of our European conceptions and musical taste. Our ear is accustomed to the European harmony and a proof that many get with some difficulty into another system is the general "tolle" which modern music has raised with its wonderful polyphony.

The player of a T/opi piano takes the two *tikhongo* or drumsticks, which have been prepared by the placing of a lump of the rubber sap of the *mhungo* tree (*Landolphia Kirkii*), called *wundandi* (cl: *wu-ma*) in the



two ends. He ordinarily, but not necessarily, plays the melodic phrase of the theme with the right hand, and accompanies with the left one. This melodic phrase, sometimes really fascinating, is exemplified and developed in many ways; but it very often turns into the somewhat fruitless monotonous chant so dear to all Bantu peoples.

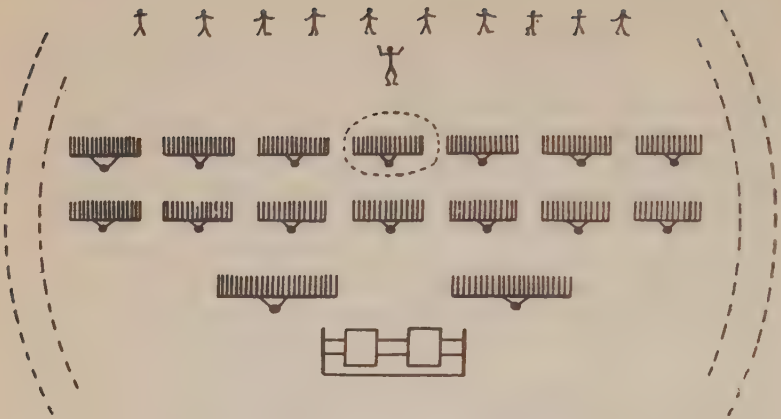
The rhythm is very interesting. It is very seldom a simple rhythm. Often one analyses a  $2/4$ , a  $4/4$ , or less often a  $3/4$ ; but sometimes it takes quite an extraordinary and unusual time. I remember once hearing a rhythm which was very nearly a  $7/4$  and alternating with a rhythm which I felt unable to analyse. Very often one notes compound rhythms. By this I do not say that there is confusion; on the contrary the natives are on the whole far more developed than we are in this respect and eurhythmics has no secrets for them. They know it by instinct.

But the most interesting point is native polyphony. It requires a thorough study, and gramophone recording will be of very great value for this work. In a very interesting paper on native music<sup>3</sup> the author seems to deplore our ignorance of the principles of Bantu music—and I cannot but affirm how much I agree with such a view. It is a very great pity that we missionaries and white people in general have seen nothing better than to impose upon natives our occidental principles without trying to understand and develop the native ones. Many thought, at the beginning, that native songs were purely and simply mistaking the right laws of harmony, whereas it is now perfectly clear that native music is governed by law, and by a peculiar and most interesting system of polyphony. We have often thought that primitive people were actually primitive in all the manifestations of their genius. This is probably erroneous. Every student of Bantu, acquainted with the strict laws of primitive society and family relationship, as well as with the most delicate laws of primitive language, knows that primitive polyphony, far though it may be from our western harmony, is nothing like cacophony. The gramophone records already collected furnish a proof of this statement. But of course with more material and a thorough study of the question it will be possible to realise more fully the interest and value of native music. Some are inclined to think that perhaps, in this respect, the study of Bantu music, instead of leading to an impoverishment of our harmonical system, may eventually prove that we have to deal with a very rich and comprehensive system of sounds. No doubt the native lacks constructive power, and the T/opi is not an exception to that rule. His music often becomes tedious because he does not seem

<sup>3</sup> *Africa*. Vol I, Jan 1928—"African Negro Music" by E.M. von Hornbostel.

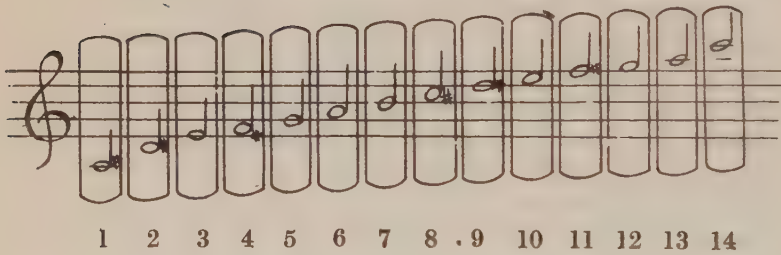


VI.



"Msaho wa mkoma" at the kraal  
of Chief Maŋatin, Zandzamela

VII.



Tonic Scale of the *t/ilandzana*

to feel the need of any development at all or logical amplification of a musical theme. He can play the same phrase for a whole day or a week if he is fond of it, without any signs of fatigue. But this indigency of mind does not prove anything as to the perfection of his polyphony.

It is certain that the native's taste, when he is trying to accompany a theme, likes the "fourth" rather than the "third" tone—and it imparts at once to his songs or instrumental performances an altogether different atmosphere from that of our own songs. This atmosphere is by no means unpleasant, and those who have been seated around the fires in the evening, when the women freely tell their tales and sing of their rich folklore, will agree with that statement. All the more naturally will those who have had the privilege of hearing a band of genuine T/opi pianos.

The *mbila* plays its part in every great occasion of the T/opi social life. When the chief calls the men to the great *mbila* dance the *msaho wa mkoma*, especially at harvesting time, all the country would run to it if it were not for the fear of forced labour. Happily the authorities have set apart a certain number of good players in Maɬatin's country who are exempted from forced labour.

The *mbila* is still used in the women's dance the *tinginya* (cf. *yi-ti*, sing: *nginya*) as well as in the boys' dances of winter time, the *ngalanga*.

The writer will always remember the first occasion on which he heard a genuine T/opi band of seventeen *timbila* at Maɬatin's kraal, in *Zandzamela* (cf. *Bantu Studies* July 1924). It was a real *msaho wa mkoma*; there was no official feast organised by the white authorities, the men were playing for their own pleasure at their headchief's village. Even if it be somewhat outside the scope of a scientific paper it may be interesting to give a description of this.

From a far distance we had already noticed the strange and powerful polyphony of the orchestra. Entering the chief's village, built in a most fascinating way under old *maforeira trees*, with all the skill and *savoir faire* of T/opi workmen, we found the dance in full swing. All at once we saw a rather strange and unusual spectacle: Between the orchestra and the dancers, where the boy making the rhythm was standing (cf. Diagram VI), the women who had been assisting as spectators only, irked by their forced immobility, were entering the circle of the performers, and their screaming as well as the contortions of their tattooed stomachs, interesting as they were from an ethnological point of view, were rather vulgar to European eyes. But natives cannot resist rhythm and music, and despite its crudity, the scene was not lacking in beauty. Little by little the



*mbila*, the real king of the day, impressed itself upon us. It was extraordinary how fascinated we became by the quality of the sound emitted by the instrument: nothing metallic about it, a neat, pure sound, something like our European xylophone, of course, but very much amplified, far more effective and powerful—the veritable “music of the woods” of this beautiful country. The fact that no metal enters into the making of a *mbila* may perhaps account for the real beauty and softness of the sound produced.

The band itself consisted of 17 pianos of the usual types: 14 *tsilanzana* of the ordinary sizes, placed in two rows (cf. Diagram VI). In the middle of the first row was my informant Ntomu Buke, as headplayer. Behind the rows were 2 bigger *timbila* or *mabinde*—and behind these one *tikhulu*, the big bass with its large keys. There was no *didole* on that occasion.

We were very much struck by the discipline of the performance. Ntomu, as headplayer<sup>4</sup> always gave an exposition of the theme once, sometimes with a small fantasial development, and then without any warning, at least perceptible to our eye or ear, the whole band would strike in. In front of the players a boy, *mdotho wa ndzele* (the boy of *ndzele*) was just marking the rhythm with the *ndzele*, a round metal box filled with small red seeds, the *milambi* (these seeds, very small and hard, red with a black spot, are used in many dances—put into empty shells and used like rattles). In old times, of course, there was no metal box and the shell of a calabash was employed.

Behind the boy, facing also the *timbila* players were eight warriors, bedecked in the splendid trappings of T/opi soldiers, with their assegais, their shields, and their beautiful ornaments: ostrich feathers and sheep skins around the ankles and the arms. (cf. Diagram VI).

It is necessary to insist on the point that music is so natural to a T/opi orchestra, rhythm so obvious, that there is no conductor—there is no need of any. The headplayer starts, he does not conduct. This fact is especially easy to observe when the band, tired of a theme, begins another.

When the band began, it was with a long theme, approximately like that shown on Diagram VII.

This notation<sup>5</sup> is not adequate—and themes like this can only be reproduced adequately when recorded with the phonograph. This

<sup>4</sup> I say head player not conductor because in T/opi orchestras there is nothing like our western conductors.

<sup>5</sup> In this scale the notation is not absolutely adequate. The tonal space between 2 and 3 does not agree with ours, the sound being higher than that to which we are accustomed. The same takes place for the tonal space between 6 and 7.

theme was repeated and repeated again—always the same musical phrase over and over again, with some slight differences in polyphony, variations in rhythm, in the dancing figures, or in the intonation of the singers. But what confounded us was the extraordinary intuitive sense of gradations of T/opi musicians. Perhaps it will seem an exaggeration, but the writer never heard in any European orchestra a more perfect association of *diminuendo* and *ralentando* at the same time. Having reached the utmost of its sounding capacity, the band began to reduce it, passing through all the different gradations of sound from the *fortissimo* to the *forte*, *mezzoforte*, *piano*, *pianissimo*—holding at the same time the pace, starting with a fast *allegro*, almost a *prestissimo*, and little by little receding to an *andante*, to the *adagio*, to the *largo*. We were really holding our breath, because it was quite an unexpected experience, to hear such perfection in the bush, far away from civilisation.

It was a song of war, glorifying the chief, scorning his enemies; and after the highest pitch had been attained, the rhythm was following the depression of the vanquished as well as the happy rest of the subduer.

The *ensemble* of a European orchestra is the result of a long study—and here was this African *ensemble* at once given by nature, by the musical instinct of this native race. Such a fact is explained, I think, by the simple reason that the African native realises the depth of his soul through its social expression: he actually lives and feels in society.

Such experiences make one realise that there are some directions in which primitive society has gone far enough in its development to enable us to learn from it.

And such performances, as well as the ingenuity of the *timbila* makers, make us hope that the musical genius of the Bantu people will one day give birth to a great musical production.



# AN ACCOUNT OF THE ǀKORANA

By the Rev. C. F. WURAS.

[This is a copy of a manuscript in the "Grey Collection" of the South African Public Library, Cape Town. The author was a missionary of the Berlin Mission at Bethany, Orange Free State, and his "Vokabular der Korana-Sprache" was published at Hamburg in 1920 as the first double number of the *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen(-Sprachen)*.

We are indebted to Professor Carl Meinhof for the notes he has contributed, and to Mr. Percy Freer, Under-librarian of the S. A. Public Library, for transcribing the manuscript.—Ed.]

## Note by the Transcriber

The Manuscript from which the following version has been prepared belongs to the Grey Collection in the South African Public Library, Cape Town. Until 1923 it was preserved in the Sir George Grey Collection, Free Public Library, Auckland, New Zealand.

The Annual Reports of the Board of Trustees of the South African Public Library for 1921-23 refer briefly to its transfer. The Report for 1921 recorded that "...power [was] given to exchange the New Zealand books and MSS. here for the South African MSS. at present in the Public Library of Auckland". In 1922 the Library was "still conducting negotiations with New Zealand." Finally the Report for 1923 could announce that "the negotiations.....have been at last consummated by a safe mutual transfer." The items received by the South African Public Library included, among others: Wuras' MS. "Account of the ǀKorana...."

During his recent sojourn in Cape Town Professor Carl Meinhof "had greatly admired the old MSS. in the wonderful Public Library, —MSS. written by the first generation of African scholars"<sup>1</sup>. It is at his suggestion, and with the sanction of the Board of Trustees, that this section of Wuras' MS. is now published.

The material printed here represents but one third of the whole, the "Vocabulary"<sup>2</sup> occupies the remaining two-thirds. The original

<sup>1</sup> See report of speech, *Cape Times*, Jan. 26, 1928.

<sup>2</sup> The 'Vocabulary' has already been printed: "Vokabular der Korana-Sprache" von C. F. Wuras; hrsg. und mit kritischen Anmerkungen versehen von Walther Bourquin. [*In Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen*, Beiheft 1. Berlin (D. Reimer), 1920]. Professor Meinhof hopes to revert to this in some future work.



seven quarto pages of the rather closely written "Account" are preceded by an introductory letter<sup>3</sup> to Sir George Grey. As a P.S. thereto is..... "a list<sup>4</sup> of the meanings of names of different Hottentot tribes."

February 1928.

P.F.

BETHANY, October 25 1858.

To

*His Excellency Sir George Grey* [.....]

Sir,

*I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 27 September and the Catalogue, for which accept my thanks. I have been much interested in its perusal.*

*I send Your Excellency through Mr. Burnet a sketch of a grammar<sup>5</sup> in the Bushman language, which I have compiled.*

*The vocabulary of the ǀKorana language, which I wrote many years ago is too defective, I therefore write a new one which I wish to render as correct as possible, together with some account of the customs peculiar to the Hottentoten tribes. This vocabulary, I find, will require more time and thought to complete it than I at first supposed. I mention this as a reason why some delay must occur before I can send it to you. I hope to do so in a month from this date.*

*I have the honour to be*

*Your most obedient servant*

*C. F. Wuras.*

PS.

*Thinking it may be interesting to you, I enclose a list of the meanings of names of different Hottentoten tribes mentioned at page 25 of the Catalogue<sup>6</sup>.*

1. Choeringaina. *In the ǀKorana language "churrikùeena"; churri means to dip or draw, and kùeena are the people. Therefore the meaning is: those who dip water out of fountains. Probably to distinguish them from those who lived on the banks of rivers.*

<sup>3</sup> First printed with the "Vokabular", p. 5 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Presumably now appearing in print for the first time.

<sup>5</sup> Also transferred from New Zealand in 1923 under The Grey Collection Act [No. 7. (2) ], 1921.

<sup>6</sup> i. e. Catalogue of the Library of His Excellency Sir George Grey, K. C. B. *Philology* Vol. 1. Pt. I. South Africa (By William H. I. Bleek). London, 1858.

2. Goeringycona or Goeringgaycona. In the ◌Korana "Churrikùee ʔkona." The children of the "Churrikùeena." ʔkona are children. Probably when Van Riebeeck afterwards asked them, who are you, they answered "the children (or the descendants) of the Churrikùeena."
3. Chorachouqua. In ◌Korana "Chorachukùà," Chora means to dig fountains, and chukùà is the plur. mas. of chub "the thing". Therefore Chorachukùà are digging tools and other things which are used by the Hottentots and also by Bushmen at the digging. These tools consisted of the horns of different animals (for digging) and skins (for conveying the mud). Workmen are usually named after the tools they work with. Therefore the name of Chorachukùà.
4. Kochoqua. In ◌Korana "Kochokùà". Flocks of sheep. If this is applied to men, then it means sheep holders or those who have sheep.
5. Charingarina. In ◌Korana "Charicharina". Those who sprinkle water, as we do with a watering pot. Very likely they did this, in order to keep their young tobacco-plants alive.
6. Chaynunqua. In ◌Korana "Chaynakùà". Those who are swollen or puffy in the face. This does not imply that the whole tribe was so affected; but only according to their custom; should the Chief have a swollen or puffy face, his people would also be called after him. I know a Korana at Vaalriver who has such a face and whose surname is Chayna °eib "swollen or puffy face."

#### AN ACCOUNT OF THE ◌KORANA<sup>7</sup>

##### With a description of their customs

It seems that the Hottentot-language has been preserved in its original form by the ◌Korana nation, as they retain the full and correct forms of the sex denoting peculiarities of that language, which the other dialects do not. The Namakùà have lost the pronoun of the first pers. masc. sing.

The men use the first person femi. "Tita" in the place of "Tire". The Roggeveld Hottentots have lost the pronoun of the first person

<sup>7</sup> In the orthography of this essay ◌ signifies the "cerebral" click, written in Nama!, in Zulu q; ʔ signifies the "lateral" click, written in Nama// in Zulu x; ɿ signifies the "palatal" click, written in Nama f, wanting in Zulu; > seems to be the dental click, written in Nama /, in Zulu c; ʔ, seems to be a sound intermediate between ʔ and ʔ; but cf. Bourquin p. 6; "o" is a guttural sound; ˘ is the sign of a nasal vowel [C. M.].

femi. sing. The women use the first person masc. sing. "*Tire*". The *Chonakua*, who lived not so far from Cape Town, kept the full form of the sex denoting, but have not the original correct form of it, as will be seen by the following table:

Korana language		Chonakua language	
Masc. Sing.	Femi. Sing.	Mas. Sing.	Femi. Sing.
<i>Tire</i> , I	<i>Tita</i> , I	<i>Tire</i> , I.	<i>Titee</i> , I ( <i>tee</i> is pl. form)
<i>Saaz</i> , Thou	<i>Saas</i> , Thou	<i>Thaat</i> , Thou	<i>Saas</i> , Thou
∩ <i>Eim</i> , He	∩ <i>Eis</i> , She	∩ <i>Eim</i> , He.	∩ <i>Uus</i> , She

The word ∩Korana—com. plur—has no meaning; but <sup>7</sup>Korana signifies: they who judge or the judging people. It is very likely that the click (ʔ) has been changed into the click (∩) and so the word lost its original meaning.—In former times the ∩Korana lived on the banks of the Vaal Orange and Heart River (Hart-rivier). They are now very diminished in number, and the greatest part of them reside still on the banks of the Orange River. From a very old ∩Korab, near 100 years of age, I learned, a tradition exists, that in ancient times the whole nation of Hottentots lived close together along the banks of Vaal and Orange River. Their chief settlement, called "*Chei am oaub*", was not far from the junction of the Orange and Vaal River. But in consequence of a great quarrel which arose amongst them, they divided. One part of their nation went in the direction of Cape Town and settled there; another part went down the Orange River, and the ∩Korana, the greatest and richest tribe, remained.

Their fathers used to tell their children, that their friends lived in ∩Hūy∩keib(\*), the name which the[y] still give to Cape Town. It seems, that the ∩Korana and the Cape Hottentots visited each other after their separation; for before any white man came among the ∩Korana, they had heard from their friends, that they <sup>7</sup>Hūna(\*\*)—the white men—had come over sea and fought with them. When the first white men came amongst the ∩Korana, they gave them the same name.

(\*) ∩Hūy ∩keib means, very hastily to pack the ox for a journey. This name was probably bestowed upon that part of the tribe who most quickly packed up and set off on their journey and afterwards given to the place where they settled.

(\*\*) <sup>7</sup>Hūna is the com. plur. of the masc. sing. <sup>7</sup>Hum, which is a certain bush producing long green fibres, resembling hair. The ∩Korana say, that this name was given to the white men on account of their long hair

The question naturally arises, from whence came the Hottentot nation, how did they penetrate so far as to reach the Orange and Vaal Rivers? Did they travel along the sea coast? This I do not think was the case; but that they came from the interior of the continent, following the course of the ancient river, now called the Hart River, till the[y] reached the Vaal River into which it flowed in past ages(\*).

The  Korana have not any kind of worship of the Supreme Being; but they retain some faint idea of His existence. Thus when a man or boy watched their flocks and had drunk much milk, he, lying on his back and looking up to the sky, would say: "*Thuy  goab*" you must not look at my stomach, I will sacrifice you a fat hamel" [Hammel=wether]. This word "*Thuy  goab*" has been adopted by the missionaries to express the name of the Deity. The meaning of it is: wounded knee. The origin of this word I have failed to discover.

The laws of the  Korana are few and they are communicated to the youth when he arrives at manhood. They are as follows: Eat no hare, no jackal, no hog, drink no goat's milk, do not steal, do not murder, do not commit adultery, speak the truth, bring strayed cattle back to your relations. The transgression of the laws was not punished by the Chief. The Chief has no jurisdiction at all, he decides only about war and their removals from place to place. If a man injures another man he is punished by the whole family and friends of that man, to whom the wrong has been done. But if the guilty man takes refuge in the hut of the Chief no man dare punish him.

The usages of the  Korana are as follows:

1. *The  K yb* (sacrifice of reconciliation of two families).

If two families live at enmity with each other and both desire to be reconciled, then one family brings to the house of the other family animals according to the number of the members of the family. All the animals are slaughtered before the hut. It is done in the following manner: a long cut is made in the breast of the animal through which the man puts the hand and breaks with one finger the artery of the heart. The blood of the animal is then boiled and eaten by the two heads of the families, then they kiss each other in token of

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(\*) It is very remarkable, that a people, like the Hottentots, called by the Bechuana "*Bokhotu*" their word for  Korana, are still living in the interior.



reconciliation. Afterwards the boys and girls belonging to both families colour their cheeks with the liver and milt, and the assembled friends eat the flesh of the animals. The same ceremony is repeated next day at the hut of the other family.

2. The *Dòrròb* (reception of a youth into manhood).

When a youth is about 18 years of age the following ceremony takes place on the occasion of reception to manhood:

A temporary hut is erected in the centre of the village, to which the youth is brought. The men assemble at a short distance from the hut and slaughter an ox. An old man then fetches the youth and sweeps the way before him till they arrive at the place where the ox has been slaughtered; both of them put one foot on the stomach of the ox, which has been taken out and placed on the side of the carcase; they then return to the hut. Some of the men now bring the fat of the stomach, being melted, to the hut, which is received by the old man, who rubs the shoulders and breast of the boy with it. The boy then rubs his whole body with it. After this has been done the old man pours some fat on the head of the boy—this act is called *ʔNau*. The mother of the youth is now sent for, who brings a salve, consisting of fat and the pulverized bark of a certain tree, with which the mother smears his face and strews pulverized quartz on his head. After this she brings the largest vessel which she has, full of milk and the boy must drink milk the whole day. In the meantime the men have boiled the flesh of the ox of which the boy gets the first piece and all the men feast together. In the evening they dance and play.

The next day the men again assemble and the father of the boy must give another ox or cow. This is daily repeated till the men and the boy—who, during all the time remains in the hut—declare themselves to be fat. This sometimes lasts a whole month. All this is but preparatory to the act of reception. Now commences the "*Duub*"—the very act of reception.—

An ox is again slaughtered, two fires are lighted, one for the purpose of heating an axe, the other to produce charcoal from a particular kind of wood. When the axe is hot, the charcoal is put into a vessel filled with milk, and the axe is held in it. The boy now drinks the milk and during drinking the performer of the ceremony holds two awls near the ear of the boy and strikes them together and calling the boy by his name,

This is done thrice at each ear. The boy each time must answer while drinking "hm". The old man now makes cuts on the belly and chest of the boy; 9 on the belly and 9 on the chest, in threes, as : III III III.

After this the laws of the ʿKorana are communicated to him by the old man, who adds the exhortation : to take good care of the things which belong to his father and particularly to take care for the dogs, that they are well fed and kept in good condition. The hut is now broken down and he returns to the hut of his father.

On this joyful occasion follows the ʿKaũ kamma ʾoam, to invest the young man with his badges of honour. The sinews of the animal which is slaughtered for this ceremony, are made into little strings on which berries are strung, which the young man wears as an ornament about his neck. Part of the skin is prepared and cut into strips, which are worn by the young man over his shoulder and breast, in the same manner as orders are worn amongst us.

3. ʿGuwisāb. This is a slaughtering which takes place if a man has for the first time killed a lion, tiger or wolf. Only such men are permitted to eat of the ʿGuwisāb, who have already killed one of the animals named. If the man has an uncle he must provide the slaughter cattle for this ceremony : if not, he must do it himself. An ox and a sheep are slaughtered. The sinews of the ox are prepared and plaited together with strips of the bark of the mimosa tree which the hero of the day wears as a girdle round his loins. The eyes of the sheep are fastened on his forehead. They all feast together on meat and milk. The young people and children are allowed to witness the ceremony of the following day and particularly the boys to admire the hero, on which day another animal is killed ; this slaughtering is called ʿCheib. The third day is the conclusion of the feast, called "Sum ʿkau ʾam". But on which occasion they eat Kafferkorn or Indiancorn porridge, boiled with milk.
4. ʿGomma. This is done in honour of a man who has killed his first Elephant, Rhinoceros or other large herbaceous feeding animal. This feast lasts three days.

On the first day all the men who have killed such an animal, as above mentioned, congregate in the centre of the village. Thick milk is provided in abundance for this feast ; the feast consists on this day only of coagulated milk.

One of the company first tastes the milk, whistles in the hollow of his hand and puts his hand into the milk and rubs the legs of the *Cham chām* (the sportsman). Having done this he gives the sportsman to drink of the milk, and the rest of them do the same.

The second day commences the slaughtering, called "*Chaur-ebiām*". The front leg of the ox, while still alive is half cut and then broken off. The skin of the leg is prepared and cut in strips which the *Cham chām* wears round the loins as an ornament. The men feast on the flesh of the ox.

The third day another ox is slaughtered, which is called, "*7Nu 7Kamma*." A temporary hut is erected for the sportsman, and the following ceremony takes place. The chief man amongst them makes on the body of the *Cham chām* more than one hundred cuts with a knife. First a long row of cuts is made from the belly to the back, then a row of cuts on the chest, arms and back. The head of the *Cham chām* is rubbed with fat mixed with *buchu* [*buchu*]. After the cuts are made the *Cham chām* must remain in the hut, till they are healed, which lasts about a month. During this time no man dares come near to him, except the man who waits on him. This man places everything wanted by the *Cham chām* in his hands; for he dare not touch anything himself. After the cuts are entirely healed he may return to his house.

5. The *7Um 7Ka*. This is the right which an uncle possesses, to go when he chooses among the cattle of his nephew, and claim for himself each cow, ox or horse, etc. having any defect.
6. The *7Karrēb* (visit). When a family or single man or woman visit their friends, the visitors are first kissed by those to whom the visit is paid. Then the woman of the house takes a horn, filled with oil, and pours it out over the heads of the visitors, which ceremony is called "*>Au 7am*" (to anoint). The children of the visitors have a calf presented to them.
7. The *7Haus* (Exchange of wives). The villages which are near each other exchange their wives at certain periods, but the details of this transaction are too immoral to describe.
8. *7Hawa 7āb*. (Arrival of a girl at womanhood). The girl hides with her companions behind a bush; one of them goes to the mother and informs her of the occurrence. The mother full of joy proclaims the event in the village. The women of the village shout and clap their hands; then the mother and the

rest of the women go and seek the girl. When they have found her, all the women make another joyful exclamation and throw aside their karosses and skins.—Then one of the women takes the girl on her shoulders and carries her home; the other women follow and shout and clap their hands. The next day a cow is slaughtered and all the women come together to feast. The woman who carried the girl takes the fat of the animal and rubs the young woman all over.

9. The *Chei 'eim* (marriage). If a young man wishes to take a wife he sends some of his companions with some head of cattle to the hut of the parents of the girl, whom he has chosen. The messengers however do not enter the hut. If the cattle are not driven away by the mother of the girl, it is a good sign. After waiting a long time they return with the cattle, and the mother inquires among her friends for which of her daughters these cattle have been brought.

The following day the cattle are brought again, the mother if she approves of the young man, then says to her daughter, that she must drive the cattle away, by which it is understood that she agrees to the marriage. But if the parents do not like the proposed match—the girl has no choice—then the mother herself drives them away. The young men return to the expectant lover with the welcome tidings of his acceptance.

The third day the cattle are brought and slaughtered before the hut. The men who slaughter the cattle cover the flesh up in the skins and go home. The mother sends for firewood, invites her friends and prepares the hut for the reception of the bridegroom. In the evening he comes with his companions. The coming of the bridegroom is called "*Oa 'khòeha*". The son-in-law resides some time with the parents of his bride, after which he takes her to his own house.

10. The *Äus*. (The reed play or dance). The day on which the play begins, the men make flutes of reed, all of which must have the same tone. They then stand in a circle, the musicmaster comes round and listens, if all the flutes are in tune. When he declares them in unison the dance commences. The men blowing the flute move in time in a circle; the women form a second circle and enclosing the men, dance round them clapping their hands. The dance lasts the whole night. The greatest immorality prevails during these plays, of which there are



several. In some of them they imitate the howls and cries of different animals, and at sunrise the men rush to the kraal and catch the sheep and goats for the day's feast, howling like many wolves.

11. The <sup>7</sup>*Nauēb* (The burial). If one dies, all the women assemble before the hut of the deceased and cry till evening. The next day the grave is made—it is a little round hole, the body is bound together and put into it—the women commence again to cry or rather howl; this lasts till they become hoarse. She who cries best is praised by the others.

C. F. W[uras].

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## *SUTO (BASUTO) MEDICINES*

By J. M. WATT, M.B., Ch.B. (Edin.) and MARIE G. BRANDWIJK,  
Phil. Docta. (Utrecht), Apotheker (Utrecht), Department of  
Pharmacology, University of the Witwatersrand.

### Part III

We present herewith descriptions of a further twenty-one Suto medicinal plants. We are much indebted to the following for invaluable assistance in obtaining data and particularly identifiable specimens of the plants: Miss E. E. Kruger of Likhoele, Revd. Father F. Laydevant, Emmaus Mission, Thabaneng, and Mr. Stephen Pinda, Clerk in the Education Department, Mafeteng.

The total number of plants used medicinally or quasi-medicinally by the Sutos is seventy-two. In a few of these, it will be seen that quite a considerable amount of work has been done in investigating the chemical composition and pharmacological action. There are, however, a large proportion about which nothing is known.

In two appendices we have indexed both Suto and Botanical names, so as to facilitate reference.

### **ALEPIDEA CILIARIS, la Roche.**

#### **FAMILY: UMBELLIFERAE**

Watt and Brandwijk No. 1843. South African National Herbarium No. 6966.

#### **COMMON NAMES**

*Afrikaans*: Berg Kalmoes<sup>1</sup>. *Suto*: Lesokoana, Lesokvane<sup>2</sup> =the small Lesoko.

#### **GROWTH AND DISTRIBUTION**

Ex Thabaneng. Phillips<sup>3</sup> states that the plant grows on mountain slopes, 15 to 25 inches high; flowers white. It is found also at George, Graaff Reinet, Albert and in Natal and the Transvaal.

#### **NATIVE USES**

*Suto*.—A decoction, made by boiling the roots in water, is given to children for coughs and colds. Phillips<sup>3</sup> mentions a similar use, and states also that the raw root is chewed for chest complaints. *Xosa*.—Smith<sup>1</sup> records that the Xosas use the powdered root in teaspoonful doses for stomach disorders. It apparently has a purgative action.

**CHEMICAL COMPOSITION AND PHARMACOLOGICAL ACTION**

Nothing is known about the chemistry or action of the plant.

**REFERENCES**

- (1) A. Smith : A contribution to South African Materia Medica. 1895, 3rd Edition, p. 67.  
 (2) E. P. Phillips : Ann. S. A. Museum, 1917, XVI, 1, 105.

**ANTHOSPERMUM PUMILUM, Sond.****FAMILY : RUBIACEAE**

Watt and Brandwijk No. 1927. South African National Herbarium. No. 7041

**COMMON NAMES**

*Suto* : Phakisane, Phakisane<sup>1</sup> =small haste, Mosopolohane<sup>1</sup> =he who is broken (by twisting).

**GROWTH AND DISTRIBUTION**

Ex Mafeteng, where it grows on hills in dry fertile earth. It is a small plant, reaching a height of 4 to 5 inches, and is not common. Phillips<sup>1</sup> states that it grows on veld and mountain slopes, 3 to 15 inches high : flowers whitish - summer. It is found also at Komgha and in Natal.

**NATIVE USES.**

*Suto*.—The root is administered internally to menstruating women to assuage pain, and is given also to pregnant women. It is stated to be purgative. Phillips<sup>1</sup> mentions that the plant is used as a charm to hasten convalescence. It is used as an ingredient in many medicinal mixtures and is credited with hastening healing. A traveller, coming across the plant, regards this as a good omen, meaning particularly that he will receive good food and a good welcome at the end of his journey. Cattle, before sale, are washed with a decoction, which is thought to facilitate the sale.

**CHEMICAL COMPOSITION AND PHARMACOLOGICAL ACTION**

Nothing is known about the chemistry or action of the plant.

**REFERENCE**

- (1) E. P. Phillips : Ann. S. A. Museum, 1917, XVI, 1, 112.

**CHENOPODIUM AMBROSIODES, L.****FAMILY : CHENOPODIACEAE**

Watt and Brandwijk No. 1926. South African National Herbarium No. 7062.

## COMMON NAMES

*English* : Mexican Tea<sup>1</sup>, Stinking Goosefoot<sup>1</sup>, American Worm-seed<sup>2</sup>, Mexican Grape Herb<sup>3</sup>, Jesuits Tea<sup>3</sup>. *Afrikaans* : Zinking-bossie<sup>1</sup>. *Suto* : Setlabocha, Setla-bocha<sup>4</sup>=the new comer, Setlama se habea<sup>4</sup>=the plant has fits, Mokhankha<sup>4</sup>=he who smells, Poea e kholo<sup>4</sup>=the big Poea, derived from the verb ho boea =to return (because the plant appears each season at the same place). *Zulu* : Puniyi. *Fingo* : um-Hlahlampetu<sup>5</sup>. *Native* : Generic name for *Chenopodia* is im-Bikicane<sup>5</sup>.

## GROWTH AND DISTRIBUTION

Ex Mafeteng, where it grows in dry fertile valleys, to a height of 2 to 3 feet. It is a common shrub. Phillips<sup>4</sup> records that the plant grows on veld, roadsides and around villages, 20 to 50 inches high : flowers cream—summer. It is a cosmopolitan weed<sup>1</sup>.

## NATIVE USES

*Suto*.—A tea-like infusion of the plant is taken for colds and stomach ache and produces sweating. *Zulu*.—The leaves are bruised and soaked in warm or cold water, and the infusion injected as an enema for rectal and intestinal ulceration. It is said to be soothing. Similar treatment is given to sheep and goats. Sometimes, for these purposes, the leaves are mixed with those of *Chenopodium album*, L. *Xosa*.—The Xosas use the seeds as an insecticide, usually as a powder, but sometimes as a decoction mixed with a decoction of blue-gum leaves<sup>5</sup>.

The plant has evidently been used in popular European and Native Medicine in South Africa for many years. Pappe<sup>6</sup>, as far back as 1868, describes the plant as having a strong aromatic smell and a pungent, bitter taste : he thought that it contained a volatile oil. He mentions that it was antispasmodic, diaphoretic and anthelmintic, used in the form of an infusion.

## CHEMICAL COMPOSITION AND PHARMACOLOGICAL ACTION

The active principle of the plant is Oil of *Chenopodium*, a volatile oil prepared by distillation. The plant when in flower contains 0.33 per cent of the oil<sup>2</sup>. This contains 45 to 70 per cent of Ascaridol<sup>2</sup>. Some writers attribute the action of the oil to its ascaridol content, but others think that ascaridol is less efficient and more irritant than the fraction of the oil which distills at a lower temperature<sup>7</sup>.

Oil of *chenopodium* is a well-known anthelmintic, used particularly in ancylostomiasis (hook-worm disease). It appears to be quite



efficient and to have a low toxicity in man. On the other hand, a number of cases of poisoning by the oil are on record, in many of which the issue was fatal<sup>7</sup>.

#### REFERENCES

- (<sup>1</sup>) R. Marloth : "The Flora of South Africa", Dictionary of the common Names of Plants, 1917, 33 & 104.
- (<sup>2</sup>) United States Pharmacopocia. IX: 290.
- (<sup>3</sup>) A. Tschirch : Handbuch der Pharmakognosie 1923, III. 1, 33.
- (<sup>4</sup>) E. P. Phillips : Ann. S. A. Museum 1917, XVI. 1. 249.
- (<sup>5</sup>) A. Smith : A contribution to South African Materia medica 1895, 3rd. Edit. 173.
- (<sup>6</sup>) L. Pappe : Florae Capensis Medicae Prodromus 1868, 3rd. Edit. 34.
- (<sup>7</sup>) T. Sollmann : Manual of Pharmacology 1922 2nd, Edit. 221.

### COMMELINA AFRICANA, L.

#### FAMILY : COMMELINACEAE

Watt and Brandwijk No. 1845. South African National Herbarium No. 6968.

#### COMMON NAMES

*Suto* : Lèkhotsoana = little Rib, Khotsoana<sup>1</sup> = the crooked thing, Khopo e nyenyane<sup>1</sup> = the small crooked thing, Lèkhopshoana<sup>1</sup> = he who is a little crooked. *Zulu* : Idangabana.

#### GROWTH AND DISTRIBUTION

Ex Thabaneng, where the plant grows in good soil, often in fields. It is common. According to Phillips<sup>1</sup>, it grows on veld, mountain, slopes and plateaux, 6 to 18 inches high : flowers yellow—summer. It is found also at the Cape, Uitenhage, and in Natal, Swaziland and the Transvaal.

#### NATIVE USES

*Suto*.—The crushed plant, mixed with "papetloane" (*Haplocarpha scaposa*, Harv.) and "sehoelihoetla", an edible root (not determined), is cooked and given to young women for barrenness. Phillips<sup>1</sup> records that a decoction of this plant and *Tephrosia capensis* is taken by the mouth in the treatment of "weak heart" and "nervousness".

*Zulu*.—A cold infusion is used to bathe the body where a person is sleeping restlessly and the leaves, from the infusion, are often rubbed over the sleeping place. This treatment is used more particularly in children.

#### CHEMICAL COMPOSITION AND PHARMACOLOGICAL ACTION

No investigation of the plant is on record.

#### REFERENCE

- (<sup>1</sup>) E. P. Phillips : Ann. S. A. Museum, 1917, XVI, 1, 314.

**CONVOLVULUS HASTATUS, Thunb.****FAMILY : CONVOLVULACEAE**

Watt and Brandwijk No. 1830. South African National Herbarium No. 6960.

**COMMON NAMES**

*Suto*: Morarana, Morarana o monyenyanane<sup>1</sup> =the very small creeper  
*Xosa*: U-Boqo<sup>2</sup>.

**GROWTH AND DISTRIBUTION**

Ex Thabaneng, where it is found in fields and woods, and on the banks of rivers. Phillips<sup>1</sup> found it growing on veld and mountain slopes, 8 to 25 inches high: flowers white—summer. It is found also at Clan William, Mossel Bay, Uitenhage, Port Elizabeth, Albany, Bathurst, Somerset East, Richmond and in the Transvaal.

**NATIVE USES**

*Suto*.—The root is chewed for toothache. According to Phillips<sup>1</sup>, the plant is used in preparing a medicine for pregnant women. *Xosa*:—The Xosas think that if a cow eats the plant, the milk is constipating<sup>2</sup>.

**CHEMICAL COMPOSITION AND PHARMACOLOGICAL ACTION**

Nothing is known about the chemistry or action of this plant. Another species, *Convolvulus scammonia*, L., gives us scammony resin, a purgative.

**REFERENCES**

(<sup>1</sup>) E. P. Phillips: Ann. S. A. Museum, 1917, XVI, 1, 207.

(<sup>2</sup>) A. Smith: A contribution to South African Materia Medica, 1895, 3rd. Edition, 174.

**CUCUMIS MYRIOCARPUS, Naud.****FAMILY : CUCURBITACEAE.**

Watt and Brandwijk No. 1825. South African National Herbarium No. 6955.

**COMMON NAMES**

*Afrikaans*: Gift-appel<sup>1</sup>. *Suto*: Monyaku, Monyaku<sup>2</sup>.

**GROWTH AND DISTRIBUTION**

Ex Thabaneng. According to Phillips<sup>2</sup>, the plant is a climber, growing on mountain slopes, near shrubs or rocks, 3 to 8 feet long: flowers yellow—summer, autumn. It is found also in the Cape and at Uitenhege.

## NATIVE USES

*Suto*.—The fruit is cooked and rubbed through a cloth, and the preparation so made is used as a purgative. The plant appears to have caused fatal poisoning in many cases, and the Sutos regard the seeds as being particularly poisonous. Phillips<sup>2</sup> states that a lotion, made by boiling the plant in water, is used in the ceremonial cleansing of a widow and her prospective second husband. It is also used by a husband for the treatment of "Mashoa", a skin affection which develops if he marries a widow who has not been "purified".

Burchell<sup>1</sup> mentions the same plant under the names, *C. colocynthis*, and *C. prophetarum*.

## CHEMICAL COMPOSITION AND PHARMACOLOGICAL ACTION.

According to Pammel<sup>3</sup>, the active principle is a toxic alkaloid, myriocarpine, which has an emetic action.

## REFERENCES

- (<sup>1</sup>) W. J. Burchell : Travels in the Interior of South Africa, 1822, I, 126 & 143.  
 (<sup>2</sup>) E. P. Phillips ; Ann. S. A. Museum, 1917, XVI, 4, 99,  
 (<sup>3</sup>) L. H. Pammel ; Manual of Poisonous Plants, 1911, 750 & 818.

## DIMORPHOTHECA CAULESCENS, Harv.

## FAMILY : COMPOSITAE

Watt and Brandwijk No. 1841. South African National Herbarium No. 6964.

## COMMON NAMES

*Suto* : Tosi.

## GROWTH AND DISTRIBUTION

Ex Thabaneng, where it grows to a height of 6 to 10 inches on hills and mountains. According to Phillips<sup>1</sup>, the plant is found also at Queenstown and in Natal (Mount Ingogo 5000 ft.).

## NATIVE USES

None.

## CHEMICAL COMPOSITION AND PHARMACOLOGICAL ACTION

Juritz<sup>2</sup> has found 0.0068 to 0.0077 per cent of hydrocyanic acid in *Dimorphotheca* species. (Bietouw).

According to our informant, this plant is poisonous to stock, especially sheep and goats. After eating a few mouthfuls, the animal stands motionless and then falls to the ground, foaming at the mouth. *Post-mortem*, the stomach is found to contain gas. The meat of an animal which has died in this way, is apparently eaten with impunity.

*Dimorphotheca ecklonis*, DC<sup>3</sup>., another South African Composite, has been found to contain hydrocyanic acid (leaves 1.247 per cent., green stems 0.374 per cent., older brown stems 0.143 per cent., flower heads 0.826 per cent). The hydrocyanic acid is combined in a glucoside, linamarie. This plant is also toxic to cattle.

### REFERENCES

- (<sup>1</sup>) E. P. Phillips : Ann. S. A. Museum 1917, XVI, 1, 162.  
 (<sup>2</sup>) C. F. Juritz : S. A. J. Sci. 1914, XI, 130.  
 (<sup>3</sup>) L. Rosenthaler : Schweiz. Apoth. Ztg. 1922, 60, 234, through Chem. Abs. 1922, 2387.

## GAZANIA LONGISCAPA, DC.

### FAMILY : COMPOSITAE

Watt and Brandwijk No. 1925. South African National Herbarium No. 7040.

### COMMON NAMES

*Suto* : Mahone, Shoeshoe. *Native* : Bensli<sup>1</sup>, u-Benhle<sup>2</sup>.

### GROWTH AND DISTRIBUTION

Ex Mafeteng, where it is a common plant found in fertile valleys. It grows to a height of 5 inches. Phillips<sup>3</sup> states that the plant is found also at the Cape, Malmesbury, Queenstown, Cradock, Graaff Reinet, and Aliwal North.

### NATIVE USES

*Suto*.—The root is used as a purgative in pregnant women, in diarrhoeas and in abdominal upsets generally. For this purpose, it is frequently mixed with the root of an *Aloe* (Lekhala).

It is also used as a textile plant<sup>1, 2</sup>.

### CHEMICAL COMPOSITION AND PHARMACOLOGICAL ACTION

Nothing is known of the chemistry and action of the plant.

### REFERENCES

- (<sup>1</sup>) Flora Capensis, 1894, III, 474.  
 (<sup>2</sup>) J. Medley-Wood : Natal Plants, 1906, IV, 351.  
 (<sup>3</sup>) E. P. Phillips : Ann. S. A. Museum. 1917, XVI, 1, 165.

## GLADIOLUS PSITTACINUS, Hook.

### FAMILY : IRIDACEAE

Watt and Brandwijk Nos. 1594, 1890. South African National Herbarium Nos. 6834 (1594), 7033 (1890).



## COMMON NAMES

*English* : Natal Lily<sup>1,2</sup>. *Suto* : Khahla, Khahla e Khalo<sup>3</sup> =the big thing which pleases.

## GROWTH AND DISTRIBUTION

Ex Thabaneng, where it is a common plant near rivers and grows to a height of 2 to 3 feet. Ex Likhoele, where it grows in black fertile soil and is found on hills and in valleys. Phillips<sup>3</sup> found it growing on mountain slopes, 3 to 4½ feet high : flowers bright red with yellow markings—summer. It is found also at Albert and in Natal.

## NATIVE USES

*Suto* : A decoction of the bulb is taken for dysenteries and also for colds. The dried bulb is sometimes powdered and taken with water for diarrhoeas and dysenteries. The smoke from combustion of the dried bulb is inhaled for respiratory diseases.

## CHEMICAL COMPOSITION AND PHARMACOLOGICAL ACTION

Nothing is known about the chemistry or action of the plant.

## REFERENCES

(<sup>1</sup>) R. Marloth : "The Flora of South Africa", Dictionary of the Common Names of Plants, 1917, 141.

(<sup>2</sup>) I. B. Pole-Evans : The Flowering Plants of South Africa, III, plate 116.

(<sup>3</sup>) E' P. Phillips : Ann. S. A. Museum, 1917, XVI, 1, 292.

**LINUM AFRICANUM, L.**

## FAMILY : LINACEAE

Watt and Brandwijk No. 1846. South African National Herbarium No. 6969.

## COMMON NAMES

*English* : Wild Flax<sup>1</sup>. *Suto* : Tenane, Moholola =to draw.

## GROWTH AND DISTRIBUTION

Ex Thabaneng, where it grows among rocks.

## NATIVE USES

*Suto*.—A love-philtre is prepared from the plant by the *Suto* medicine-men, and is smeared on their own bodies and secretly introduced into the food of the desired person.

## CHEMICAL COMPOSITION AND PHARMACOLOGICAL ACTION

Nothing is known about this plant. But *Linum catharticum*<sup>2</sup> contains a neutral principle (bitter), linin, which appears to be an irritant.

*Linum usitatissimum*, L. contains linamarin, a glucoside resembling amygdalin. (cf. *Dimorphotheca caulescens*).

## REFERENCES

(<sup>1</sup>) R. Marloth: "The Flora of South Africa", Dictionary of the Common Names of Plants, 1917, 113.

(<sup>2</sup>) R. Kobert: *Lerbuch der Intoxikationen*, 1906, 2nd. Edition, 560 & 840.

**PACHYCARPUS RIGIDUS, E. Mey.**

## FAMILY: ASCLEPIADACEAE

Watt and Brandwijk No. 1840. South African National Herbarium No. 6963.

## COMMON NAMES

*Suto*: Phomametsu =cut the throat, Phoma-metsu<sup>1</sup> =he who cuts the arrows (or thorns), Leshokoana<sup>1</sup> =the small Leshohoa.

## GROWTH AND DISTRIBUTION

Ex Thabaneng. Phillips<sup>1</sup> found the plant growing on mountain slopes: flowers yellowish—purple—summer. It is found also at Tarkastad, Aliwal North and in the Orange Free State and the Transvaal.

## NATIVE USES

*Suto*.—This plant is sometimes mistaken for an edible asclepiadaceous plant, Seamelapoli (not determined). When eaten it produces toxic symptoms and sometimes death. Phillips<sup>1</sup> states that it is used as a dysentery remedy especially for colic, and that in the spring it is used as a vegetable.

## CHEMICAL COMPOSITION AND PHARMACOLOGICAL ACTION

We have found the root of *Pachycarpus schinzianus* to be toxic to frogs and cats<sup>2</sup>.

## REFERENCES

(<sup>1</sup>) E. P. Phillips: *Ann. S. A. Museum*, 1917, XVI, 1, 195.

(<sup>2</sup>) Watt and Brandwijk: unpublished notes.

**RANUNCULUS PINNATUS, Poir.**

## FAMILY: RANUNCULACEAE.

Watt and Brandwijk No. 1226. South African National Herbarium No. 5945.

## COMMON NAMES

*English*: Buttercup<sup>1</sup>. *Afrikaans*: Boterblom<sup>2</sup>, Boterbloem<sup>2</sup>, Kankeblaren<sup>2</sup>. *Suto*: Hlapi, Hlapi<sup>4</sup> =fish. *Zulu*: Xaposi, u-Xhaphozi<sup>5</sup>. *Native*: (Probably *Swazi*) Xaposi, Mxaposi,

## GROWTH AND DISTRIBUTION

**Ex Mafeteng.** Phillips<sup>4</sup> found it growing in damp spots on veld and mountain slopes, 5 to 18 inches high: flowers bright-yellow—summer, autumn. The plant is found also at the Cape, George, Uitenhage, Beaufort West, Komgha, and in Tembuland and Natal. According to Marloth<sup>2</sup> it is introduced from Europe.

## NATIVE USES

**Suto.**—The Sutos regard the plant as a deadly poison and it appears to produce a marked degree of irritation. **Zulu.**—The Zulus dry and powder the leaves and stems, and use this powder in salt-spoonful doses by the mouth for the treatment of chest complaints. Bryant<sup>5</sup> records that they use an infusion of the leaves for the treatment of cough, and a poultice made from a paste of the leaves of *Mikania capensis*, *Erythrina caffra*, *Cardiospermum halicacabum* and *Ranunculus pinnatus* as a counter-irritant over the bladder in urinary complaints. **Swazi.**—The Swazis take the plant internally for the treatment of syphilis. It is stated to produce purgation. The dried burnt plant is powdered and applied locally to syphilitic ulcerations. In some cases, *Ranunculus pinnatus* enters into the preliminary treatment of syphilis and is followed by more specific treatment, but the plants used in the latter we have not been able to identify. **Xosa.**—Smith<sup>6</sup> states the Xosas use the leaves of *R. pinnatus* and *R. capensis*, as a decoction in a dose of two tablespoonfuls repeated after two hours, for “extreme irritability of the stomach”. A warning is given not to administer too much. For the treatment of sore throat and bad cough, they use a decoction of the roots of *R. pinnatus*, *R. capensis* and *Helichrysum nudiflorum*, mixed with sweet milk. For chills, the fresh leaves of the plant are bruised and applied to the surface of the body.

Pappe<sup>3</sup> mentions the use of the fresh juice expressed from the plant in the treatment of carcinomatous ulcers. He knew the plant as *R. pubescens*, Thunb.

## CHEMICAL COMPOSITION AND PHARMACOLOGICAL ACTION

This particular *Ranunculus* has not been investigated. But the whole family is characterised by an irritant action, which is always due to the presence of Anemonol. For further details, reference may be made to the Authors’ paper on *Anemone transvaalensis*?

## REFERENCES

- (1). R. Marloth : "The Flora of South Africa." Dictionary of the Common names of Plants, 1917, 106.
- (2). R. Marloth : The Flora of South Africa, 1913, I, 222.
- (3). L. Pappé : *Florae Capensis Medicæ Prodrômus*, 1868, 3rd. edition, 1.
- (4). E. P. Phillips : *Ann. S. A. Museum*, 1917, XVI, 1, 34.
- (5). A. T. Bryant : *Ann. Natal Museum*, 1909, II, 1, 34, 49, 51 & 77.
- (6). A. Smith : *A Contribution to South African Materia Medica*, 1895, 3rd edition, 70 & 102.
- (7). M. G. Brandwyk & J. M. Watt : *Med. J. So. Afr.* 1925, XX, 357.

**RHAMNUS PRINOIDES, L'Herit.**

## FAMILY : RHAMNEAE.

Watt and Brandwijk No. 1586. South African National Herbarium, No. 6013.

## COMMON NAMES.

*Afrikaans* : Blinkblaar<sup>1</sup>. *Suto* : Mofifi, Nofifi<sup>2</sup>=darkness, so-called on account of the dark green leaves. *Zulu* : Unyenye, uNyenya<sup>3</sup>.

## GROWTH AND DISTRIBUTION.

Ex Thabaneng. A bush growing on slopes along rivers. Phillips<sup>2</sup>, records it on mountain slopes and ravines, growing 7 to 12 feet high: flowers green—summer. It is found also at Swellendam, George, Port Elizabeth, Graaff Reinet, Somerset East, Aliwal North, King William's Town, Komgha, and in the Transvaal, Natal and Rhodesia.

## NATIVE USES

*Suto*.—Charcoal, made from the wood of this bush, is mixed with fat and smeared on sticks, which are supposed to drive away thunder, witches and birds. A decoction of the root is used for pneumonia and pulmonary tuberculosis. Phillips<sup>2</sup>, mentions that the Sutos place branches of the bush on the top of their huts to ward off evil from the inmates. *Zulu*.—The Zulus use a decoction made from the decorated root as a "blood purifier". Bryant<sup>3</sup> states that the plant is used as an application for sprains.

## CHEMICAL COMPOSITION AND PHARMACOLOGICAL ACTION

Nothing is known about the chemistry or action of this plant. Various other species of *Rhamnus* are used as purgatives, the purgative action being due to the presence of anthracene bodies.

## REFERENCES

- (1). R. Marloth : "The Flora of South Africa", Dictionary of the Common names of Plants, 1917, 117.
- (2). E. P. Phillips : *Ann. S. A. Museum*, 1917, XVI, 1, 64.
- (3). A. T. Bryant : *Ann. Natal Museum*, 1909, II, 1, 71 & 80.



**SALVIA TRIANGULARIS, Thunb.**

FAMILY : LABIATAE.

Watt and Brandwijk No. 1588. South African National Herbarium No. 5999.

## COMMON NAMES

Suto: Mosisili, Mosisili<sup>1</sup>.

## GROWTH AND DISTRIBUTION

Ex Thabaneng, where it is a common plant growing to a height of 9 to 12 inches. Phillips<sup>1</sup> found it growing on mountain slopes, to a height of 12 to 24 inches: flowers mauve—summer (Nov. to Feb.). It is found also at Uitenhage, Stockenstrom and Somerset East.

## NATIVE USES

*Suto*.—An infusion is made from this plant, together with *Haplocarpha scaposa* (Papetloane) and *Commelina africana* (Lekhotsoane). The infusion is drunk once a day by barren women.

A decoction is used in cattle for "Liversickness".

## CHEMICAL COMPOSITION AND PHARMACOLOGICAL ACTION

No investigation of the plant is on record, but, being a *Salvia*, it may contain a volatile oil, which would produce the usual effects of that group.

## REFERENCE

(<sup>1</sup>). E. P. Phillips: Ann. S. A. Museum, 1917, XVI, 1, 242.

**SEBAEA LEIOSTYLA, Gilg.**

FAMILY : GENTIANACEAE.

Watt and Brandwijk No. 1574. South African National Herbarium No. 6003.

## COMMON NAMES.

*Suto*: Moroeroe, Marama-a-baroetsane<sup>1</sup> =the cheeks of young girls, on account of the bright colour of the flower.

## GROWTH AND DISTRIBUTION

Ex Thabaneng, where it grows to a height of 9 inches and is found in damp places. Phillips<sup>1</sup> found it in damp spots on mountain slopes, veld and plateau, growing 2 to 15 inches high: flowers bright yellow. The plant is found also in Natal, Orange Free State and the Transvaal.

## NATIVE USES

*Suto*.—The Sutos use a decoction as a tonic after snake-bite.

## CHEMICAL COMPOSITION AND PHARMACOLOGICAL ACTION

Nothing is known about the chemistry or action of the plant.

## REFERENCE

(<sup>1</sup>). E. P. Phillip: Ann. S. A. Museum, 1917, XVI, 1, 200.

### STACHYS AETHIOPICA, L.

## FAMILY LABIATAE

Watt and Brandwijk No. 1222. South African National Herbarium No. 5944.

## COMMON NAMES

*Suto*: Lebate, Bokatla<sup>1</sup>, Bolaoba litaola<sup>1</sup> =the filter of the divining bones.

## GROWTH AND DISTRIBUTION

Ex Mafeteng. According to Phillips<sup>1</sup>, the plant grows on mountain slopes, near rocks, 6 to 20 inches high: flowers mauve, pink or pale blue—spring, autumn. It is found also at Uitenhage, Cathcart, East London, Graaff Reinet, Middelburg, Komgha, and in the Transkei, Natal and the Orange Free State.

## NATIVE USES.

*Suto*.—The Sutos use the plant to protect cattle against “Blackwater”. This is done by making the animals inhale the smoke from burning a piece of meat wrapped in the plant. The meat must be obtained from an animal which has died of blackwater. Phillips<sup>1</sup> states that it is burnt in the hut of a person suffering from feverish delirium, and is said to have a soothing effect.

## CHEMICAL COMPOSITION AND PHARMACOLOGICAL ACTION

Nothing is known about the chemistry or action of the plant.

## REFERENCE

(<sup>1</sup>). E. P. Phillips: Ann. S. A. Museum 1917, XVI, 1, 244.

### STACHYS RUGOSA, Ait.

## FAMILY: LABIATAE

Watt and Brandwijk No. 1828. South African National Herbarium No. 6958.

## COMMON NAMES

*Afrikaans*: Dassiebos<sup>1</sup>, Jacobjong<sup>1</sup>. *Suto*: Kofi, Taraputsoe<sup>2</sup>.

## GROWTH AND DISTRIBUTION

Ex Thabaneng, where it is a common plant on hills. It has a strong scent. Phillips<sup>2</sup> says that it grows on mountain slopes, 12 to 26 inches high : flowers pink—summer. It is found also at Clan William, Albany, Calvinia, Somerset East, Cradock, Graaff Reinet, Murraysburg, Sutherland, Middelburg and Colesburg.

## NATIVE USES

*Suto*.—A few Sutos use the plant as a tea. Marloth<sup>1</sup> and Phillips<sup>2</sup>, record a similar use.

## CHEMICAL COMPOSITION AND PHARMACOLOGICAL ACTION

Nothing is known about the chemistry or action of the plant.

## REFERENCES

(<sup>1</sup>). R. Marloth : "The Flora of South Africa", Dictionary of the Common Names of Plants, 1917, 128.

(<sup>2</sup>). E. P. Phillips: Ann. S. A. Museum, 1917, XVI, 1, 245.

**STRIGA ELEGANS, Benth.**

## FAMILY : SCROPHULARIACEAE.

Watt and Brandwijk No. 1598. South African National Herbarium No. 6029.

## COMMON NAMES

*Suto* : Thopanyana, Seona<sup>1</sup>=he who gets spoilt (or withered) quickly.

## GROWTH AND DISTRIBUTION

Ex Thabaneng, where it grows to a height of 6 to 9 inches and is common on the veld. According to Phillips<sup>1</sup>, it grows on veld, mountain slopes and plateaux, 3 to 9 inches high : flowers pink or white—summer. It is also found at Albany, Queenstown, Cathcart, Stutterheim, Albert, Komgha, and in the Transkei, Tembuland, Natal, Bechuanaland and the Transvaal.

## NATIVE USES

*Suto*.—The plant is burnt when a thunder storm is approaching.

## CHEMICAL COMPOSITION AND PHARMACOLOGICAL ACTION

Nothing is known about the chemistry or action of the plant.

## REFERENCE

(<sup>1</sup>). E. P. Phillips : Ann. S. A. Museum, 1917, XVI, 1, 227.

**THALICTRUM MINUS, L.****FAMILY : RANUNCULACEAE.**

Watt and Brandwijk No. 1599. South African National Herbarium No. 6025.

**COMMON NAMES**

*Suto*: Lefokotsane, Lefokotsane<sup>1</sup>=the small feeble one, Tloro ea Ngvale<sup>1</sup>=the head of the Ngvale, a Ngvale being a girl of the Initiation School.

**GROWTH AND DISTRIBUTION**

Ex Thabaneng, where it grows to a height of 2 feet and is found chiefly in river-beds. Phillips<sup>1</sup> records it as growing in dongas and on mountain slopes: flowers green—summer. It is found also in Queenstown, Aliwal North, and Griqualand West.

**NATIVE USES**

*Suto*.—The Sutos sometimes use the leaves as tea. A decoction made from the roots of this plant and those of "Lepeka" (not determined), is used for the treatment of fever. Phillips<sup>1</sup> states that the young plants are used as a vegetable.

**CHEMICAL COMPOSITION AND PHARMACOLOGICAL ACTION**

Twenty-six species of *Thalictrum* have been investigated, but this one is not included in the list. Two of the twenty-six have been found to contain hydrocyanic acid<sup>2</sup>.

**REFERENCES**

- (<sup>1</sup>). E. P. Phillips: Ann. S. A. Museum, 1917, XVI, 1, 33.
- (<sup>2</sup>). L. van Italie: Arch. Pharm. 248, 251, through Chem. Abs. 1920, 2495.

**WAHLENBERGIA BANKSIANA, A. DC.****FAMILY : CAMPANULACEAE**

Watt and Brandwijk No. 1581. South African National Herbarium No. 6015.

**COMMON NAMES**

*Suto*: Moopetsane.

**GROWTH AND DISTRIBUTION**

Ex Thabaneng, where it is a common plant, found chiefly in fields. It is also found in the Cape.

**NATIVE USES**

*Suto*.—The root is used in the treatment of bad syphilitic sores.



## CHEMICAL COMPOSITION AND PHARMACOLOGICAL ACTION

Nothing is known about the chemistry or action of the plant.

**XYSMALOBIMUM UNDULATUM, R. Br.**

## FAMILY: ASCLEPIADACEAE

Watt and Brandwijk No. 1919. South African National Herbarium No. 7038.

## COMMON NAMES.

*English* : Wild Cotton<sup>1</sup>, Milk Bush<sup>1</sup>. *Afrikaans* : Melk-bos, Bitter wortel<sup>2</sup>, Bitter Hout<sup>3</sup>. *Suto* : Phohotsehlá = yellow bull, Leshokhoa, Leshokhoa<sup>4</sup>. *Zulu* : Ishongwe. *Xosa* : Ishongwe, i-Ishongwe<sup>1</sup>. *Native* : I-tshongwe<sup>5</sup>.

## GROWTH AND DISTRIBUTION

Ex Mafeteng, where it is a common shrub, growing in fertile soil on hills and plains, to a height of 2 to 3 feet or more. Phillips<sup>4</sup> records it on veld and mountain slopes, 20 to 42 inches high : flowers pale cream and green—summer. It is found also at Paarl, the Cape, Swellendam, Alexandria, Albany, Queenstown, Richmond, Victoria West, Somerset East, and in the Orange Free State and the Transvaal. We have found it growing near Germiston and on the Pretoria-Premier Mine road.

## NATIVE USES

*Suto*.—The Sutos use the plant for the treatment of "stomach-ache", dysenteries and colds. Phillips<sup>4</sup> states that the young leaves are used as a spinach. *Zulu*.—The Zulus use the powdered stem mixed with cold milk as an emetic in cases of poisoning, and the powdered root in water to sprinkle on hides and skins to prevent dogs gnawing them.

*Xosa*.—A decoction is taken internally by the Xosas for colic. Smith<sup>1</sup> records that they use a tincture of the root as a tonic.

*Native*.—From Koster<sup>5</sup>, we are informed that an infusion of the root is used as an antipyretic, especially in malaria. It apparently produces profuse sweating, lowering of the temperature and general improvement. The whole plant is sometimes used for the same purpose. Hewat<sup>6</sup> states that an infusion of the root is used in typhoid fever and as a tonic.

This plant has been used in popular medicine, European and Native, in South Africa for the last 150 years<sup>2</sup>. Originally it was used as a diuretic and for the treatment of colic, but the diuretic use seems to have been lost.

## CHEMICAL COMPOSITION AND PHARMACOLOGICAL ACTION

The root of this plant has been investigated.

Brandwijk<sup>7</sup> has isolated two glucosides from an alcoholic extract of the root. One of these is apparently pure and has been named *Xysmalobinum*. The other deliquesces extremely easily and is thus very difficult to handle. The main toxic principle appears to be contained in the second, for *Xysmalobinum* is less toxic than the extract. The root contains 0.3 per cent of *Xysmalobinum*.

A glucoside has also been isolated direct from the root and it appears to resemble *Xysmalobinum* to some extent, but is not identical with it.

An alcoholic extract of the root contains also a small quantity of acid-saponins and a substance which changes the colour of the blood from red to dirty-yellow. The extract contains no volatile active products, no alkaloids and no tannic acid.

The action of the extract has been investigated by J. M. Watt<sup>8</sup>. It is irritant and bitter. When given by the mouth or subcutaneously it readily produces vomiting and has a marked action on various functions. The respiration is slowed. The heart rate is slowed, but with larger doses, it is usually ultimately quickened. There is constriction of the peripheral blood-vessels, which causes a marked rise in the blood-pressure. The uterus is stimulated to contract strongly and a like effect is seen in the intestinal muscle. In the blood-vessels, uterus and intestine, the action appears to be directly on the muscle fibres. The extract also produces marked diuresis which appears to be caused wholly by the rise in blood-pressure.

The extract, which represents 30.8 per cent of the dried root, is highly toxic as is shown by the following minimum lethal doses:—

<i>Cats</i>	by subcutaneous injection—	0.0195 gm. per kilo,
	by the stomach . . . . .	—2.00 gm. per kilo.
<i>Rabbits.</i>	by subcutaneous injection—	0.0475 gm. per kilo,
	by intravenous injection—	0.02875 gm. per kilo.
<i>Dogs.</i>	by subcutaneous injection—	0.01775 gm. per kilo,
<i>Frog.</i>	( <i>Xenopus laevis</i> ) by ventral sac-	about 0.0035 gm.
	per kilo.	

## REFERENCES

- (<sup>1</sup>). A Smith: A Contribution to South African Materia Medica, 1895. 3rd edition, 61.
- (<sup>2</sup>). C. P. Thunberg: Travels in the Interior of Europe, Africa and Asia—1770-1779, 2nd English edition, 1795, I, 290.
- (<sup>3</sup>). R. Marloth: "The Flora of South Africa". Dictionary of the Common Names of Plants, 1917, 12 & 125.
- (<sup>4</sup>). E. P. Phillips: Ann. S. A., Museum 1917, XVI, 1, 89.

- (<sup>6</sup>). I. Frack : Private Communication.  
 (<sup>6</sup>). M. L. Hewat : Bantu Folk Lore, 54 & 84.  
 (<sup>7</sup>). M. G. Brandwijk : Trans. Roy. Soc. S. A. 1927, XIV, 353,  
 (<sup>8</sup>). J. M. Watt : Revue de Pharm. et. de Thérap. Exp. 1928, I (in the Press).

## APPENDIX No. 1.

*Alphabetical Index of Suto Names with Botanical Equivalents.*

<i>Boheme</i>	<i>Cyathula globulifera</i> , Moq.
<i>Bohome bo bohola</i>	<i>Cyathula globulifera</i> , Moq.
<i>Bohomenyane</i>	<i>Cynoglossum enerve</i> , Turcz
<i>Bokatla</i>	<i>Stachys aethiopica</i> , L.
<i>Bolaoba litaola</i>	<i>Stachys aethiopica</i> , L.
<i>Boulvana</i>	<i>Hermannia coccocarpa</i> , E & Z. ( <i>Mahernia coccocarpa</i> , E & Z.)
<i>Hlapi</i>	<i>Ranunculus pinnatus</i> , Poir.
<i>Hloejane</i>	<i>Dicoma anomala</i> , Sond.
<i>Hloenya</i>	<i>Dicoma anomala</i> , Sond.
<i>Joala Balinonyana</i>	<i>Lippia asperifolia</i> , Rich.
<i>Kahla</i>	<i>Gladiolus psittacinus</i> , Hook.
<i>Kahla e Kholo</i>	<i>Gladiolus psittacinus</i> , Hook.
<i>Khamane</i>	<i>Rumex</i> sp. (near <i>R. ecklonianus</i> , Meisn.)
<i>Khopo e nyenyane</i>	<i>Commelina africana</i> , L.
<i>Khotsoana</i>	<i>Commelina africana</i> , L.
<i>Khukhoana e nyenyane</i>	<i>Androcymbium melanthioides</i> , Willd.
<i>Kloenya</i>	<i>Dicoma anomala</i> , Sond.
<i>Kofi</i>	<i>Stachys rugosa</i> , Ait.
<i>Lebate</i>	<i>Stachys aethiopica</i> , L.
<i>Lebeyana</i>	<i>Asclepias fruticosa</i> , L.
<i>Lebohlollo</i>	<i>Hebenstreitia comosa</i> , Hochst.
<i>Lefokotsane</i>	<i>Thalictrum minus</i> , L.
<i>Lehlokoana</i>	<i>Oldenlandia amatymbica</i> , Kuntz.
<i>Lehorometso</i>	<i>Cheilanthes hirta</i> , Sw.
<i>Leilane boloulo</i>	<i>Hermannia coccocarpa</i> , E & Z. ( <i>Mahernia coccocarpa</i> , E & Z.)
<i>Lekholela la basotho</i>	<i>Harveya speciosa</i> , Bernh.
<i>Lekhopshoana</i>	<i>Commelina africana</i> , L.
<i>Lekhotsoana</i>	<i>Commelina africana</i> , L.
<i>Lemameloane</i>	<i>Heliophyla suavissima</i> , Burch.
<i>Lematlama</i>	<i>Berkheya setifera</i> , DC.
<i>Leme la Khomo</i>	<i>Berkheya setifera</i> , DC.
<i>Lemi la Khomo</i>	<i>Hieracium polyodon</i> , Fries.

<i>Lenano</i>	<i>Polygala hottentotta</i> , Presl.
<i>Lengana</i>	<i>Artemisia afra</i> , Jacq.
<i>Lengoako</i>	<i>Haplocarpha scaposa</i> , Harv.
<i>Lesapo</i>	<i>Eriosema salignum</i> , E. Mey.
<i>Leshala</i>	<i>Haplocarpha scaposa</i> , Harv.
<i>Leshella</i>	<i>Eriosema salignum</i> , E. Mey.
<i>Leshokhoa</i>	<i>Xysmalobium undulatum</i> , R. Br.
<i>Leshokoana</i>	<i>Pachycarpus rigidus</i> , E. Mey.
<i>Lesokoana</i>	<i>Alepidea ciliaris</i> , la Roche.
<i>Lesokvane</i>	<i>Alepidea ciliaris</i> , la Roche.
<i>Letapiso</i>	<i>Helichrysum leiopodium</i> , DC
<i>Luthepu</i>	<i>Dierama pendula</i> , Bkr.
<i>Lilime la Khomo</i>	<i>Hieracium polyodon</i> Fries.
<i>Lisebo</i>	<i>Haplocarpha scaposa</i> , Harv.
<i>Liteno</i>	<i>Haplocarpha scaposa</i> , Harv.
<i>Mafifi matso</i>	<i>Phygelius capensis</i> , E. Mey.
<i>Mafifi matsu</i>	<i>Phygelius capensis</i> , E. Mey.
<i>Mahoane</i>	<i>Cheilanthes hirta</i> , Sw.
<i>Mahone</i>	<i>Gazania longiscapa</i> , DC.
<i>'Maka tlala</i>	<i>Heteromorpha arborescens</i> , Cham. & Sch.
<i>Makorotsoane</i>	<i>Erodium cicutarium</i> , l'Herit.
<i>Makorotsoane</i>	<i>Erodium cicutarium</i> , l'Herit.
<i>Ma Mavaneng</i>	<i>Cheilanthes hirta</i> , Sw.
<i>'Ma Ngoakoane</i>	<i>Oldenlandia amatymbica</i> , Kuntz.
<i>Marama a baroetsane</i>	<i>Sebaea leiostyla</i> , Gilg.
<i>Matsoane</i>	<i>Oldenlandia amatymbica</i> , Kuntz.
<i>Mereko</i>	<i>Haplocarpha scaposa</i> , Harv.
<i>'Metsane</i>	<i>Androcymbium melanthioides</i> , Willd.
<i>Metsi matso</i>	<i>Phygelius capensis</i> , E. Mey.
<i>Moethimolo</i>	<i>Asclepias fruticosa</i> , L.
<i>Mofera Ngopa</i>	<i>Withania somnifera</i> , Dun.
<i>Mofubetsoane</i>	<i>Lasiosiphon, linifolius</i> , Dene.
<i>Mofefa Bana</i>	<i>Vernonia kraussii</i> , Sch. Bip.
<i>Moferangopa</i>	<i>Withania somnifera</i> , Dun.
<i>Mofifi</i>	<i>Rhamnus prinoides</i> , l'Herit.
<i>Mohlatsisa</i>	<i>Asclepias stellifera</i> , Schl.
<i>Mohlatsisa</i>	<i>Oldenlandia amatymbica</i> , Kuntz.
<i>Mohloa</i>	<i>Cynodon hirsutus</i> , Stent.
<i>Mohlomela tsie oa tha-</i> <i>ba</i>	<i>Helichrysum leiopodium</i> , DC.
<i>Mohlomela tsie oa tho-</i> <i>ta</i>	<i>Helichrysum leiopodium</i> , DC.



<i>Moholantja</i>	<i>Asclepias stellifera</i> , Schl.
<i>Moholola</i>	<i>Linum africanum</i> , L.
<i>Mokhankha</i>	<i>Chenopodium ambrosioides</i> , L.
<i>Monkhoane</i>	<i>Heteromorpha arborescens</i> , Cham. & Sch.
<i>Monkhvane</i>	<i>Heteromorpha arborescens</i> , Cham. & Sch.
<i>Monyaku</i>	<i>Cucumis myriocarpus</i> , Naud.
<i>Moomang</i>	<i>Gnidia (Lasiosiphon anthylloides)</i> , Meisn.)
<i>Moopetsane</i>	<i>Wahlenbergia banksiana</i> , A. DC.
<i>Morara</i>	<i>Clematis brachiata</i> , Thunb.
<i>Morarana</i>	<i>Convolvulus hastatus</i> , Thunb.
<i>Morarana oa mafehlo</i>	<i>Clematis brachiata</i> , Thunb.
<i>Morarana oa mangope</i>	<i>Galium wittebergense</i> , Sond. var. <i>glabrum</i> , Phillips.
<i>Morarana o monye-nyane</i>	<i>Convolvulus hastatus</i> , Thunb.
<i>Morara o mofubelu</i>	<i>Galium wittebergense</i> , Sond. var. <i>glabrum</i> , Phillips.
<i>Moreroe</i>	<i>Sebaea leiostyla</i> , Gilg.
<i>Morōka hloho</i>	<i>Aster muricatus</i> , Less.
<i>Morokolopoli</i>	<i>Oldenlandia amatymbica</i> , Kuntz.
<i>Mosala suping</i>	<i>Malva parviflora</i> , L.
<i>Mosalasupe</i>	<i>Malva parviflora</i> , L.
<i>Moshala Marupi</i>	<i>Withania somnifera</i> , Dun.
<i>Mosisili</i>	<i>Salvia triangularis</i> , Thunb.
<i>Mosopolohane</i>	<i>Anthospermum pumilum</i> , Sond.
<i>Mothokho</i>	<i>Ipomoea oblongata</i> , E. Mey.
<i>Mothuntsetso</i>	<i>Gerbera piloselloides</i> , Cass.
<i>Motsetse</i>	<i>Cussonia paniculata</i> , E & Z.
<i>Musapelo</i>	<i>Indigofera tristoides</i> , N. E. Br.
<i>Ntsoantsane</i>	<i>Berkheya setifera</i> , DC.
<i>Palesa e bitsoa shoe-shoe</i>	<i>Gazania serrulata</i> , DC.
<i>Papetloane</i>	<i>Haplocarpha scaposa</i> , Harv.
<i>Pefshoana basia</i>	<i>Helichrysum leiopodium</i> , DC.
<i>Pelo Li Maroba Ea Thaba</i>	<i>Tephrosia semiglabra</i> , Sond.
<i>Phakisane</i>	<i>Anthospermum pumilum</i> , Sond.
<i>Phakisane</i>	<i>Anthospermum rigidum</i> , E & Z.
<i>Phalana tsa balimo</i>	<i>Cymbopogon marginatus</i> , Stapf.
<i>Phate ea ngaka</i>	<i>Hermannia coccocarpa</i> , E & Z. ( <i>Mahernia coccocarpa</i> , E & Z.)

<i>Phate ea ngaka</i>	<i>Hermannia depressa</i> , N. E. Br.
<i>Phoa</i>	<i>Aster asper</i> , L.
<i>Phohotsehla</i>	<i>Xysmalobium undulatum</i> , R. Br.
<i>Phoma metsu</i>	<i>Pachycarpus rigidus</i> , E. Mey.
<i>Pōea e Kholo</i>	<i>Chenopodium ambrosioides</i> , L.
<i>Potsana</i>	<i>Anthospermum rigidum</i> , E & Z.
<i>Qena</i>	<i>Malva parviflora</i> , L.
<i>Qena e nyenyane</i>	<i>Hermannia coccocarpa</i> , E & Z. ( <i>Mahernia coccocarpa</i> , E & Z.)
<i>Qobo</i>	<i>Gunnera perpensa</i> , L.
<i>Scharani</i>	<i>Galium wittebergense</i> , Sond. var. <i>glabrum</i> , Phillips.
<i>Sehlaré sa mollo</i>	<i>Hermannia coccocarpa</i> , E & Z. ( <i>Mahernia coccocarpa</i> , E & Z.)
<i>Sebitsa</i>	<i>Lepidium schinzii</i> , Thel.
<i>Seletjane</i>	<i>Hermannia coccocarpa</i> , E & Z. ( <i>Mahernia coccocarpa</i> , E & Z.)
<i>Seletjane</i>	<i>Hermannia depressa</i> , N. E. Br.
<i>Selomi</i>	<i>Scabiosa columbaria</i> , L.
<i>Senyarela</i>	<i>Ajuga ophrydis</i> , Burch.
<i>Seona</i>	<i>Harveya speciosa</i> , Bernh.
<i>Seona</i>	<i>Striga elegans</i> , Benth.
<i>Sephomolo</i>	<i>Athrixia phylicoides</i> , DC.
<i>Sesoeu</i>	<i>Haplocarpha scaposa</i> , Harv.
<i>Setlabocha</i>	<i>Chenopodium ambrosioides</i> , L.
<i>Setlama se habea</i>	<i>Chenopodium ambrosioides</i> , L.
<i>Setele</i>	<i>Lasiosiphon linifolius</i> , Dcne.
<i>Setima mollo</i>	<i>Pentanisia variabilis</i> , Harv.
<i>Shoeshoe</i>	<i>Gazania</i> , near <i>G. jurineaefolia</i> , DC.
<i>Shoeshoe</i>	<i>Gazania longiscapa</i> , DC.
<i>Taraputsoe</i>	<i>Stachys rugosa</i> , Ait.
<i>Teka motse</i>	<i>Malva parviflora</i> , L.
<i>Tenane</i>	<i>Linum africanum</i> , L.
<i>Thiba pitsa</i>	<i>Malva parviflora</i> , L.
<i>Thopa e Nyenyane</i>	<i>Lasiosiphon linifolius</i> , Dcne.
<i>Thopana</i>	<i>Lasiosiphon linifolius</i> , Dcne.
<i>Thopanyana</i>	<i>Striga elegans</i> , Benth.
<i>Tlhaku ea pitsi</i>	<i>Scabiosa columbaria</i> , L.
<i>Tloro ea Ngvale</i>	<i>Thalictrum minus</i> , L.
<i>Tosi</i>	<i>Dimorphotheca caulescens</i> , Harv.
<i>Tseba ea pela</i>	<i>Gerbera piloselloides</i> , Cass.
<i>Tseba pelo</i>	<i>Gerbera piloselloides</i> , Cass.

<i>Tsikilane</i>	<i>Gazania</i> , near <i>G. jurineae</i> folia, DC.
<i>Tsikilane</i>	<i>Gazania serrulata</i> , DC.
<i>Tsitvane</i>	<i>Hebenstreitia comosa</i> , Hochst.

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We wish again to acknowledge the financial assistance afforded us in this work by the Bantu Research Fund of the University of the Witwatersrand.





## CORRESPONDENCE

To the Editor,

*Bantu Studies*—

There seems to be a little doubt as to the nature of the Swahili word *vita* "war", though it is usually and rightly treated as a plural noun (without a singular) of the 8th (*VI*-) class.

I have been interested by finding parallels in somewhat unexpected quarters —e. g. Herero *ovi-TA*. The Zulu *isi-TA* "enemy", pl. *izi-TA*, is clearly the same word. It is also evident that the stem is the same as that of *u-TA*, (*bu-TA*, *vu-TA*) "bow"; (*buta* in Bangi is "gun" —of course a transferred meaning)—and the root is evidently a primitive one common to Bantu and Sudanic speech and meaning "strike". I believe, but have no reference books at hand and cannot verify the fact, that it actually occurs with verbal force in one or more Sudanic languages, and possibly (I speak under correction) in Bangi (Middle Congo). Any further light on this point from Bantu or non-Bantu languages would be welcome. Can anything analogous be traced in Bushman speech?

A.W.

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## BOOK NOTICES

### THE TONES OF SECHUANA NOUNS

By DANIEL JONES, M.A. Being Memorandum VI of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures. 1928. pp. 26 price 1/6.

This most interesting little work was done by Professor Jones in collaboration with Mr. Sol. T. Plaatje of Kimberley, and shows a great deal of detailed analysis work. Most important is the tonal division of nouns into *A*-, *B*-, and *C*-, forms. The author states: "*A*- forms are used when the word terminates an ordinary statement of fact. *B*- forms are used when the word terminates a question, a command or a sentence of an exclamatory character. *C*- forms are used when the word is not final." This division is essential in any Bantu tonal classification. Professor Jones finds more than one *A*-form, *B*-form or *C*-form, and states, "When a noun has two *A*-forms, one of them is used only when certain words precede, e.g. *lā* (with, and), *ā*, *xā*, *wā*, etc. (of), and the case of adjectival nouns, *ō* (he is), *bā* (they are), *ē*, *sē*, etc. (it is); it may be termed the "dependent" *A*-form." Now here we are at once up against a difficulty. The present word-division of Sechuana is faulty. All these so-called words are in fact only prefixal formatives, generally changing the noun into some other part of speech; *lē*- generally forms with the succeeding noun an instrumental adverb, *ā*-, *xā*-, etc. form with the noun 'possessives' which act as possessive adjectives do in English: *ō*-, *bā*-, etc. are not separate words but act as the subjectival concords do with verbs, and form with the succeeding noun predicates. If a tonal classification of nouns is to be made it should comprise only nouns. But here again in Bantu the divisions of the parts of speech are sometimes blurred. All verb infinitives, which are verbs, are also nouns, and yet in the paper before us we have no noun examples with the prefix *xo*-. It is further highly questionable whether from the Bantu point of view *motho* and *ṛkwe* can be considered monosyllabic in contrast to *phula*, *nama*, *noko*, etc., which Professor Jones classifies as disyllabic, on the ground that *mo*- and *ṛ*- in the first two cases are prefixes, whereas the others have no visible prefix, and the stem is definitely disyllabic. I do not believe that any monosyllabic noun exists in Sechuana, those quoted are "nouns with monosyllabic stem". Does the fact of the stem being monosyllabic in some cases and disyllabic in other cases of disyllabic nouns affect the tone system? I doubt it.



I feel that, only when a satisfactory division of the words is used, and the real grammatical classification understood, will a useful tonal classification be possible. We are indebted to Professor Jones for bringing so forcibly to our notice the existence of the grammatical and syntactical work of Tone in Bantu.

C.M.Doke.

### STUDIES OOR KORANNATAAL

Deur J. A. ENGELBRECHT. (Annale van die Uniwersiteit van Stellenbosch. Jaargang VI, Reeks B, Afl. 2. 1928 pp. 45. prys 2/-).

This monograph of pp. 45 is the result of research in a little community of Koranna Hottentots living in the N. W. of the Free State, not far from Bloemhof, the last probably who speak their mother tongue. A short introduction concerning the people precedes a brief outline of grammar and then follows a vocabulary of about 750 words in Koranna—Afrikaans. Koranna has undoubtedly much in common with Nama, but the author points out certain divergencies. With Nama are shared the 'three genders' and 'three numbers'. It is interesting to see that the pronouns of the 1st and 2nd persons have varying forms as to whether it is a man or a woman who is speaking or being spoken to; thus I [masc.] is *tiri*, but I [fem.] *tita*. The author uses the Zulu and Xosa symbols *c*, *q*, *x*, for the ground forms of three of the clicks and adds *ç* for the fourth. This is a pity as Koranna will never be used as an everyday language, and its value to students will be in the realm of Comparative Philology when its comparison to Nama will be most important. Only Tindall used these symbols for Nama (and he used *v* for the *ç* used here), while the present Nama orthography is very different, as are the symbols used by the I.P.A.

This contribution to our knowledge of Koranna is very welcome, and we congratulate Dr. Engelbrecht upon it.

C.M.D.

### NUWE SESOETO TEKSTE VAN VOLKEKUNDIGE BELANG

Deur W. EISELEN. (Annale van die Universiteit van Stellenbosch. Jaargang VI, Reeks B, Afl. 3, 1928, pp. 88. prys 2/-).

This publication has special interest and significance in the fact that, as far as we know, it is the first publication in Afrikaans dealing with a Bantu philological subject, and for that reason alone it would

be most welcome. The University of Stellenbosch is to be congratulated on the interest in "Bantologie" which it is awakening in the young Afrikaans-speaking South Africans.

Dr. Eiselen has divided his subject into three sections, Suto texts, Afrikaans translations and explanatory notes; and the whole work reflects considerable research. The texts are from various dialects, 14 pages in Sekopa, 17 in Sepedi, and 4 in Khelovedu, and contain much of historical and ethnological value.

A welcome innovation, one which will no doubt cause much questioning, is made by Dr. Eiselen in the orthography he employs. The most essential change is the use of *w* and *y* for the semi-vowels hitherto written *o* and *i*. The substitution of *v* for *b* is a very questionable improvement. The Italic *-v* is the I. P. A. symbol for the bilabial fricative, but in the texts romic *-v* is used throughout. The latest I.P.A. symbol for this sound is Greek  $\beta$ .

C.M.D.



# TERMS OF KINSHIP AND CORRESPONDING PATTERNS OF BEHAVIOUR AMONG THE THONGA

By REV. A. A. JAQUES.

The chief function of terms of kinship is to establish between members of a kinship system what has sometimes been called "patterns of behaviour." If A is told of the term of kinship which unites him to B, he will know at once what kind of social behaviour is expected from him towards B, what duties and privileges are conferred on him by this relationship, and within what bounds he can exercise his own freedom of action in respect of B.

This is true of our civilized European societies. When I say "my wife," "my son," "my niece," "my brother-in-law," etc., I hereby define the manner in which I am allowed or obliged to behave towards all the persons I call by these names. It is to be noted that in our European monogamous societies, the terms "my wife," "my father" and "my mother," can apply only to one living person<sup>(1)</sup>, and the terms "my grand father," "my grand mother," respectively, only to two living persons. But the other terms of kinship: brother, sister, cousin, etc., designate classes of persons to each of which corresponds a definite kind of behaviour, applying to all those included in the class.

The same rule is found in some of the most primitive societies. The terms "father," "mother," "grand father" and "grand mother" usually have here a wider extension than in our systems and may apply to several individuals at the same time. But all those called "fathers," "mothers," "wives," etc., will be treated according to the pattern corresponding to their class.

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(1) An exception might be recorded when parents-in-law are called "father" and "mother" when addressed by their sons- and daughters-in-law.

We are not considering here the cases when the terms of kinship are given a symbolical or amicable meaning, as "brother" used by religious and other associations, or "uncle," "father," "grandfather," etc., applied in a friendly way to strangers to the family. Natives use also very frequently their terms of kinship in this way.



The Bantu tribes of South Africa have very definite patterns of behaviour, corresponding to certain relationships. It seems, however, that these patterns are not always covered exactly by the terms of kinship. For instance, a Thonga, a Venda or a Sotho will have several fathers and<sup>(2)</sup> mothers, and for practical purposes we may say that he places them all on the same footing<sup>(3)</sup>. But in other cases, we find one term of kinship allowing several kinds of behaviour. In this respect, we may say that the terms of kinship of the Bantu tribes of S. Africa have a looser value and meaning than those of either the most civilized or some of the most primitive societies. For instance, in our European systems of kinship, the terms "mother" and "sister" are exclusive of sexual relations. But a Thonga, a Venda, or a Sotho may marry a woman whom he calls "mother," e.g., a Thonga may marry the widow of an elder brother or of his own father, or a step-sister of his own mother, who all are his "mothers"<sup>(4)</sup>.

On the other hand, a Thonga may call the daughter of his paternal aunt "my wife," but he is not supposed to marry her, and a Sotho will call the younger sisters of his wife "wives," although marriage with them is not allowed<sup>(5)</sup>.

It often happens that one person may be called by two or three different terms, according to the social behaviour which is especially considered. For instance, the same woman may be called by a Thonga male: "sister-in-law" (*namu*) and "wife" (*nsati*); or a Sotho may speak of a woman as being his "cousin" (*mudzoala*) or his "wife" (*mosadi*), or in the case of his wife's younger sister, as being his "sister" (*khacadi*) or his "wife." It is unnecessary to multiply the examples.

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<sup>(2)</sup> In Sotho the usual term for "my father," "my mother," is a plural form—*bopape*, *bomme*. It is possible that this is only a form of politeness, "a plural of majesty," but it is not certain.

In the same connection we may note the strange forms in Thonga and Sotho, *batatana ni bamanana wa hina*, *bopape le bomme oa rena*, which combines a singular genitive with plural nouns.

By Sotha we mean in this paper the Transvaal Sotho, and refer more especially to the Kgaga tribe, near Tzaneen, Pietersburg District.

<sup>(3)</sup> Thonga boys, asked what they would do if their own father and an elder brother of their father gave them contradictory orders, replied: "We would have to obey the 'father' who spoke first, and the other one, if possible, after."

<sup>(4)</sup> A Thonga in this case will justify his action by saying: "She is my mother. I must marry her so that she may nurse me (give me the breast)"—an expression which will interest the psycho-analyst.

<sup>(5)</sup> Except in the case of the wife dying childless, when her youngest sister, and she alone, will be substituted for her.

In order to prevent confusion, descriptive terms are also frequently used instead of the classificatory terms, *e.g.*, instead of "my daughter-in-law" (*ngwengi*, Sotho: *ngweci*), a Thonga and a Sotho will say, "my younger brother's wife" (*nkata'ndisana, ya mina, mosali oa morato oa ka*), thus explaining exactly who is mentioned. In the same way, a certain brother-in-law may be called "brother" (*makweru, ngoaneso*), or he may more exactly be described as "my wife's sister's husband" (*nuna wa makwa nkata' nga, mogaca morato oa mosadi oa ka*).

In some other cases, there are no classificatory terms available, and only descriptive terms can be used, *e.g.*, for the Sothos: "the paternal aunt's husband" (*mogaca rakhadi*) <sup>(6)</sup> or "the husband (or wife) of my paternal aunt's children" (*mogaca modzoala*).

Although their terms of kinship have a looser and vaguer meaning than is the case in our European societies, we ought not to conclude that these Natives are ever at a loss to know how they should behave towards each of their relatives. It is surprising to see how quickly and instinctively Bantu children grasp the exact value of each relationship, and master the rules of a system which seems very complicated to our European minds.

Once one has had a glimpse of the classifications and modes of behaviour which rule the Native mind, it is more easily understood how Natives can sometimes adopt such contradictory attitudes, and whilst appearing very discourteous to Europeans, maintain a strict etiquette when dealing with their own kin. In their modes of behaviour no pattern is provided for the European master, and it is not easy for them, when they first come in contact with white people, to know what is the right thing to say or to do. It will be some time before their mind adjusts itself to the new circumstances, either by forming new patterns of behaviour in relation to the white man, or by assimilating him to one of the categories of persons for which he has already-formed patterns<sup>(7)</sup>.

I have attempted to give here below a list of the principal patterns of behaviour in the Thonga system of kinship, arranging them from the one commanding the greatest respect down to those allowing the greatest familiarity.

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(<sup>6</sup>) Among the Thonga, this uncle may also be called by a classificatory term: *nuna* (husband) by a girl, and *namu* by a boy (*mukongwana* among the Ronga).

(<sup>7</sup>) The missionary, according to the circumstances, may be considered as a "chief." He will usually come in the category of the "fathers" and

(Continued Foot next page.)

It is hardly necessary to say that this schema is artificial, and does not exist as such in the Native mind. It is possible, and probable, that all will not agree in every point of detail with the grading of this table, but this is not surprising, as feelings and qualitative judgments cannot be measured and graded like quantitative values. One must reckon also with the differences due to the customs of each clan.

Class	I.	<i>Bakongwana.</i>
Class	II.	<i>Bengi.</i>
Class	III.	<i>Batatana.</i>
Class	IV.	<i>Bamanana.</i>
Class	V.	<i>Bamakweru.</i>
Class	VI	<i>Bahahana.</i>
Class	VII.	<i>Batukulu.</i>
Class	VIII.	<i>Bakokwana.</i>
Class	IX.	<i>Balamu and Basati.</i>

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be treated as such.

But if an unknown white man arrives at a kraal, the Natives cannot place him in any of the different categories known to them of the "chief," the "*mukongwana*," the "relative," etc.; they cannot even identify him as "the stranger." Bewildered and moved by different contradictory feelings, they will forget all rules of politeness and stare at him, instead of greeting him according to the etiquette used with a Native "stranger."

Sometimes the presence of the white man seems to paralyze the customary manifestation of politeness among themselves. I have, for instance, noticed that the Venda do not observe before an unknown European the elaborate etiquette in use among themselves when alone.

I have several times had the following experience. When I engage a "raw" Sotho boy, I notice that he uses the second person singular when speaking to me—*uena*, which is rude. I ask him: "How do you speak to your father at home?" He replies: "I say, *lena*" (second person plural, which is the polite form, as in French). I ask him again: "Why do you not say so to me? Am I not like your father?" And invariably the reply comes: "Yes, you are; I forgot to say so!" In reality he has not forgotten, only he has not thought that he should place me in the class of his "fathers."

I may add another example to show how the behaviour expressing respect among South African Natives can be totally different from the one Europeans would expect.

When motoring through a Mission outstation, I had to stop to leave a message. The young wife of the teacher in charge for a while seemed to take no notice of our presence, and when, at last, she approached to receive the message, she did so as slowly as she possibly could, with an air of supreme unconcern, which made one, sitting in the vibrating car, feel rather impatient—motorists always are in such a hurry!

As this occurred a few times, I once remarked to my evangelist: "Why is this young woman so unpolite as to always keep us waiting?" He then replied that she was slow because she was shy, which was a sign of good manners. If she walked up jauntily to us immediately we arrived, she would seem to consider herself an equal and would be lacking in respect towards me.

Let us examine each of these classes, taking as a common measure of comparison the reactions of these different types of behaviour in connection with the more important functions of human life, as food, speech and sex.

In order to simplify matters in this description, the first person will frequently be used, it being understood that the speaker is a Thonga male.

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CLASS I.—BAKONGWANA (Sing. *Mukongwana*).

This term applies to a relationship which is based on the institution of *lobolo* and is one of the characteristic features of the South African Bantu system of kinship.

In order to make things more easily understood, let us take a concrete example.

I have married a woman for whom I have paid *lobolo*. One of my wife's brothers also takes a wife and pays for her with the *lobolo* (usually cattle) I gave for his sister. My brother-in-law's wife and myself stand in a special and peculiar position towards one another: we are *bakongwana*.

(a) Not only is this woman my *mukongwana*, but this term of relationship and its corresponding pattern of behaviour applies to the following women:—

- (1) My *mukongwana*'s co-wives;
- (2) her *tihlantswana* (daughters of her brothers and brothers' sons);
- (3) her own sisters;
- (4) the wives of the others brothers of my wife;
- (5) the co-wives and
- (6) the sisters of these last women (No. 4).

We may see here how justified is the expression "patterns of behaviour." One kind of behaviour applying to the one woman acquired with my cattle is extended to other members of the same class who have apparently nothing to do with my cattle. And though we do not perceive at first the ties uniting these different women, they are conscious that they all belong to the same group. (\*)

These women are, of all my relatives, the persons to whom I must show the greatest respect. The Thonga verb applying to them is *ku tshaba*, which means both to fear and to have respect for.

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(\*) *Vide* the ceremony of *ku dyisa*, p. 333.



The behaviour imposed by this relationship is one of avoidance and embarrassment, with this peculiarity that the fear seems greater on my side, being a man, than on theirs.

As has been said, the most typical individual of this group is the woman who has been acquired with the cattle I paid for my wife. She is the "great *mukongwana*" (*mukongwana lo 'nkulu*), as she is called in Mr. Junod's "Life of a South African Tribe," or, as she is more frequently called, *Nyatihomu* (litt. "of the cattle").

If I meet this woman on the way, we shall both feel very embarrassed. We shall both leave the path and make a circuit in order to avoid one another. If the ceremony of *ku dyisa* described below has not yet taken place, we shall not even greet one another. In ordinary cases, we may both sit down at a distance one from the other<sup>(9)</sup> and may exchange news. Speaking to her, I shall only call her by her *shibongo* (clan) name, and, if I belong to the Northern clans, who use the second person plural as a form of politeness, I shall only address her in this respectful form of speech. If she has a child with her, however small it may be, we shall converse through it, using it as a fictitious interlocutor. "My child," the woman will say, if she has a baby daughter, "here is your husband; don't you ask him news from home?" And I shall reply in the same fashion. <sup>(10)</sup>

Until she has a child, my *mukongwana* will cover her breasts, as a mark of respect, when she sees me approaching. Once she nurses a baby this is no more considered necessary.

In the kraal, at home, I never remain in the company of my *mukongwana* for a long time, but she will retire into a hut or among the women, some distance from me. This will especially be the case until I perform the *ku dyisa*. It is an expression among the Thonga that "to masticate is to insult the *bakongwana*" (*ku hlampfuna n'ku ruketela bakongwana*). This means that if I arrive

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(<sup>9</sup>) To sit down is a mark of respect. It is impolite to speak standing with somebody, and shows that you consider yourself his superior or his equal, and that you have little time to spare with him. The proper way to meet a superior is to kneel down before him (this entails no idea of servility) or to sit, waiting for him to pass, thus showing that you have no hostile intention. Here is one of the many instances of misunderstandings between Europeans and Natives. The European will get angry with the Native who does not stand to speak to him, because he does not know that Native etiquette is different from ours.

(<sup>10</sup>) As we shall see, the daughters of my *bakongwana* are my prospective wives.

unexpectedly in the kraal of my *bakongwana* and find them having a meal, they will instantly put away the food and even stop chewing in my presence. We shall all feel very embarrassed.

In order to ease these somewhat strained relations, I must perform what most of the clans call *ku dyisa bakongwana* (to make eat the *bakongwana*). I shall kill an animal, invite my *bakongwana*, and we shall eat it together. From this time, something of the restraint that existed between us has been taken away and, in the future, we shall meet and converse more freely.

It appears that it is not absolutely necessary to invite to this meal the "great *mukongwana*." Any members of this group of *bakongwana* will serve the purpose, and they will tell the others that the ceremony has taken place and the restraint been removed.

In the Northern clans the equivalent of *ku dyisa* is *ku losana* (to greet one another), which is done in the following way. My mother-in-law brings our *mukongwana* (that is *Nyatihomu*, see above) to our kraal, "to show her where we live." She says to my wife, "This is your mother. I am getting old and shall not be able to come and see you often. But she will come and know that she is here at home." I shall give my *mukongwana* £1, which will be handed to her by an intermediate person, and from this time the greatest friendliness will exist between our family and hers, although I, personally, shall always be most respectful to her.

It hardly needs be said that I never ask food from my *mukongwana*, and that as regards sexual matters, I may never make the slightest allusion before her. Among the Karanga, if a man happens unexpectedly to see his *mukongwana* bathing in the river, he will feel strongly that he has broken a taboo, and will spontaneously send her a fine of 10s., although it has been no fault of his. This rule does not exist among the Thonga; nevertheless, should this situation come about, both the man and the woman would run away, very much upset.

It is noteworthy that, although a Thonga must avoid his *mukongwana*, there is a possibility that she may one day become his wife, and this has sometimes been given as the reason for avoidance. If a man's wife dies childless, and her parents are unable to provide a substitute or to return the *lobolo*, the man may take his *mukongwana* from his brother-in-law and make her his wife, as she has been acquired with his cattle. I have recorded some cases when this has actually taken place. But it must be said

that the occurrence is very rare, as, even if all other possibilities have been exhausted, the *mukongwana* may redeem herself by giving a daughter or a niece, whom the man is obliged to accept as a compensation, even if the girl offered is yet a child.

It is indeed a peculiarity of this system of kinship that the daughters of my *bakongwana* are my potential wives. If my chief wife dies childless, I shall be offered a daughter of my "great *mukongwana*." <sup>(11)</sup> This girl will be given to me in return for a small *lobolo*, say £10 instead of the usual £50 or £60. Although she may be a child, she will become my chief wife and have precedence over my other spouses <sup>(12)</sup>. She is called *nsati wa ku pfula yindlu*, i.e., "the wife who opens the house" (she reopens the closed hut of the deceased wife). After this marriage, her mother or aunt, as the case may be, passes from the class of the *bakongwana* into the class of the "mothers," and ceases to be an object of avoidance as before.

As we shall see later on, the parents and brothers of my *mukongwana* belong to the class of the *bakongwana*, which is characterized by a pattern of familiarity. Her daughters are my "wives," her sons my *bakongwana*, and the daughters of her brothers and brothers' sons are again my *bakongwana*, <sup>(13)</sup>

If one consults the Table of Extended Relationships by *Lobolo*, one will see how the *lobolo* creates a well-defined relationship

<sup>(11)</sup> A younger sister of my wife may also be substituted to her in case of death.

If there are no younger sisters of my wife, and no daughters or *hlantswa* of my great *mukongwana* available, a daughter of one of her co-wives may be substituted, and if this is not possible, a daughter of my other *bakongwana*, the wives of my brothers-in-law. But in the two last cases full *lobolo* will have to be paid.

<sup>(12)</sup> Among the Sotho, this precedence of the substitute (*mmulantlo*) is shown in the following way. All the other wives must put out their fires when this girl is brought to the village, and relight them with the fire of the *mmulantlo*.

<sup>(13)</sup> We are thus enabled to establish the order of precedence of the "bakongwana":

- (1) My great *mukongwana* (*Nyatihomu*, acquired with the cattle I gave for my wife).
- (2) Her *tihlantswa* (daughters of her brothers, or of her brothers' sons' daughters).
- (3) My *mukongwana's* co-wives.
- (4) The wives of the other brothers of my wife.
- (5) The sisters of all these women (3) and (4).

Practically the same respect must be shown to the members or groups 2, 3, 4 and 5, though it must be noted that I have no claim to the children of group 5, as these women belong to other families and may marry in other kraals.

or a series of relationships, to which nothing can be compared in European society, and he will realise the extraordinary importance of the institution of lobolo in the South African Bantu social organisations.

Many explanations have been attempted of the mysterious fear between a man and his *bakongwana*, but in the present state of our knowledge, none of them seems entirely satisfactory, and it is not our purpose to discuss the subject in this paper.

(b) There are other persons to whom the term *bakongwana* is extended. These are:—

- (1) The co-wives of my mother-in-law.
- (2) Among the Ronga, the elder brothers and sisters of my wife, and the husbands of the paternal aunts.

It must be noted that my father-in-law and mother-in-law, although the term is sometimes applied to them, do not really belong to the class of the *bakongwana*, with its behaviour-pattern of fear and restraint. They are "my father" and "my mother."

As for the behaviour practised towards the members of this group (b), I must show them a certain respect. I will use the second person plural when speaking to them, and will address them as "fathers and mothers" (*tatana, manana*). But the feeling of embarrassment and the obligation of avoidance have disappeared. I may ask food from these second grade *bakongwana*, but do so very politely.

It may be recorded that when I kill some animal for my parents-in-law, it is the co-wives of my mother-in-law who dispose of the meat. As a matter of course, they will invite my mother-in-law to the meal, but it seems that the meat belongs to them rather than to the latter.

If my mother-in-law has no sons, the cattle I gave for my wife may be used by her co-wives for obtaining a wife for one of their sons, but it is understood the cattle will have to be returned one day to the "house" of my mother-in-law.

CLASS II.—BENGI (Sing. *Ngwingi*) (Nearest English equivalent: daughter-in-law).

I must avoid all familiarity with my daughters-in-law, i.e., my sons' wives. My younger brother's wives are also my "*bengi*" and call me "father." No sexual relations are ever allowed with these



women, even after the death of their husbands. I do not chaff them or ever joke (*a ba bungunyiwi*) with them), but must always maintain a dignified attitude. Although they are women and therefore occupy a subordinate position, I do not ask them for food directly, but may speak generally, without addressing anyone, and say: "So! there is nothing to eat here at home!" Or, if my *Ngwingi* has children, I may call one of them and say: "I am hungry, so-and-so, give me something to eat." The child will tell his mother, or she will hear what I said, and will bring me food, which, kneeling down, she will place before me.

### CLASS III.—BATATANA (Fathers).

The next category of persons I must honour are my "fathers."

First of all in this class comes my own father. I must show him respect. I usually do not joke in his presence, and am especially careful to avoid speaking of any sexual matters or unpleasant subjects before him. I am not intimate with him and do not talk over my private affairs with him. This attitude seems to us Europeans to be one of polite indifference rather than of affectionate respect. Still, the relationship implies sentiments of love, mutual consideration and trust. According to old customs, a son was expected to keep the cattle he personally owned in his father's kraal, and to hand him over all the money he earned. The father would not dispose of it without the son's consent, but the son would not make use of it without the father's approval.

I may never ask my father for food or drink. I may eat in his presence, but not with him. He is supposed to eat first, and leave me the remains of the meal. Sons may bathe in the river with their fathers, under certain conditions. (See Note (14), next page.)

In the second place in this class, we find the father of my wife. He may sometimes be called a *mukongwana*, but becomes really "my father" and treats me as "his son." There is perhaps less restraint in my behaviour with this father-in-law than with my own father.

The same respectful behaviour will apply to my paternal uncles, whom I call "fathers" (great or small father, according to whether he is an elder or younger brother of my father). As a matter of fact, a nephew brought up in the home of a paternal uncle will often be more obedient and obliging to him than his own son.

Other individuals also called "fathers" are:—

- (1) The husbands of my maternal uncles' daughters (as these are "my mothers").
- (2) The elder brothers of my wife.

I usually address these as "*Baba*" or "*Tatana*," but, unless there is a great difference of age, this is only a polite way of speaking and does not entail the obligation of respect as for my father proper.

#### CLASS IV.—BAMANANA (Mothers).

We may distinguish here two groups:—

A. My own mother's co-wives and the daughters of my *malume* (maternal uncle). In some clans, a "son" may not ask food from these women, but they may spontaneously offer him some. In the whole tribe, they are treated with more respect and less familiarity than the mother proper. The restrictions are especially strict regarding the daughters of the maternal uncles. It is strange that, whilst among the Sotho this relationship not only allows but demands marriage, the union with the maternal uncle's daughter is considered incestuous by the Thonga. However young be the girl, I must always call her my "mother."

B.—In the second group, we find my own mother, her sisters, and my wife's mother.

There is less restraint in my behaviour with these women than with those of Class A. I may talk more or less freely before them, although I shall avoid unpleasant subjects. When addressing them I use the second person singular, but take care always to add the vocative *manana* (mother), which is more polite (in all languages) than the abrupt second person<sup>(14)</sup>.

But, as in the case of the father, though in a lesser degree, there is no real intimacy between a Thonga and his mother. A boy, naturally, and even a girl, will never speak confidentially to his or her mother regarding their sexual life, nor seek from her any advice on the subject. Special persons are provided in the system from whom such advice may be obtained, as we shall see in other classes.

<sup>(14)</sup> Among the clans of the Khosen country (Portuguese East), some of which have emigrated to the Transvaal (Lydenburg and Pietersburg Districts), the mother-in-law addresses her son-in-law as *mukwashi*, an expression which strangely resembles the Venda term for *mukongwana*, *mukwasha*. Curiously enough, the Northern Transvaal clans living in contact with the Venda ignore the term *mukwashi*. Among the Hlanganu my "great *mukongwana*" uses it when speaking to me.

**CLASS V.—BAMAKWERU (Brothers and sisters).**

There is a very strict etiquette regulating the behaviour of brothers and sisters between one another. I must show a great respect to my elder brothers and sisters. Speaking of them to a third person, I call them: *tihosi ta mina*, i.e., "my lords." The word is the same as the one meaning "chief." When speaking to them, I use the polite form of the second person plural. In the case of an elder brother, I address him by his *shibongo* (clan) name, and never by his personal name. I may also call him *Baba, Tatana* (father) and call my elder sisters *Manana*. Another way of addressing the latter would be *Ngwanasika* (daughter of So-and-so). This on the supposition that my elder brothers and sisters are not married. If they were married and had children, the usual form would be "Father or Mother of So-and-so."

In all my dealings with my elder brothers and sisters, I must show the respect which the above forms of language express. For instance, it would be very rude of me to call out to an elder brother from a certain distance. I must send a child to him or approach him myself so as to be able to talk quietly. It would be considered a breach of etiquette if I had to shout or speak with a loud voice in order to be heard.

As regards my younger brothers and sisters (*tindisana ta mina*) I expect from them the same deference I show to my elder brothers and sisters. I call them by their individual names, and use the second person singular when addressing them<sup>(15)</sup>. When my sisters are grown up and have children, I may say to them: "Mother of So-and-so" if I wish to be amiable, but use the second person singular.

From hence this form of address will be used in all the following classes.

I may order food and water from my younger sisters and rebuke them as I like. I may joke with them to a certain extent, but any allusion to sexual matters must be avoided in their presence.

If the difference of age is not too great, I may eat with my brothers, even out of the same dish. But when there are considerable differences of age, each group of contemporaries eats apart:

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<sup>(15)</sup> I may call them by their "first" name, the name they had before they gave themselves their present name at the circumcision school or the *bukhoba* ceremonies. But I would consider it an insult, for which they would be thrashed, if they were to call me by my "child" name.

the grown-up men, young men, boys, small boys, etc. When eating out of the same dish the following etiquette is followed—the younger boys must not depart before the elder ones. Although they may have satisfied their hunger, they must keep the older boys company by taking small pieces of food and eating slowly. On the other hand, the elder boys will not finish the plate. The youngest of all has the privilege of cleaning the dish, plate or pot, with his fingers. However savoury the food may be, the right of “finishing” (*ku korisa*) will not be taken from him.

Women of all ages may eat indiscriminately together, young with old, mother with child. However, if there are a certain number of women eating together, adult women will usually have their own dish and the girls theirs.

It is peculiar that the rule for bathing is the reverse of the rule for eating. Men of all ages may bathe together, younger with older brothers, sons with fathers<sup>(16)</sup>, whilst the women observe a strict separation between groups of different ages. A mother will never bathe with a daughter.

Besides my own brothers and sisters, there are other persons called *bamakweru*, and to whom the same behaviour-patterns apply. These are:—

- (a) The children of my paternal uncles. The children of my father's elder brothers are my *tihoſi* (elder brothers), and those of my father's younger brothers are my *tindisana* (younger brothers and sisters).
- (b) The children of my maternal aunts. The same rule regarding age applies here.
- (c) The man who marries my wife's sister becomes my “brother” (elder or younger according to whether he has married an elder or younger sister.) His brothers and sisters become my “brothers and sisters,” and a marriage into their family would be considered incestuous.

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<sup>(16)</sup> An explanation of this is that the men wear what they consider to be a sufficient covering—the *shifado*. (See Junod, Notes for Ethnologists and Medical men: *Annotatio prima*.)

Similarly, a mother will bathe with her daughters when retaining some garment.

The objection to nudity seems to derive not so much from a sense of shame as from the sense of respect due to others, especially superiors. Thonga women when quarrelling among themselves will sometimes, when they have exhausted their repertoire of abusive language, uncover themselves. This is considered as the grossest insult to anybody.



## CLASS VI.—BAHAHANA. (Paternal aunts.)

I would place here the paternal aunts in a special class. To this relationship corresponds a very important and characteristic pattern of behaviour. There are some divergences as regards the liberty of attitude allowed with the *hahane*. Some clans hold her in greater respect than others, and Natives belonging to these clans will say, "the *hahane* is a father, one cannot joke with her." But these cases are exceptional. For the majority of the Thonga people, a great familiarity with the *hahane* seems to be the rule. All kinds of jokes can be made in her presence, and a girl, even a boy, will not be ashamed to tell her all the foolish things they have done. She is the proper "confidante" of her nephews and nieces. If a boy or girl gets into trouble, especially in matters appertaining to sexual life, they will first of all tell their *hahane*, and ask her to break the news to their father. She will go and inform the mother of the child, who will tell her husband. Generally speaking, the *hahane* seems to be an intermediary between children and their father. If they do not get on well with their father, or if he obliges them to do something to which they object (for instance, in case of marriage) they can always seek refuge at the *hahane's* kraal. She will then go and plead their cause before the father. Very often when a child has thus put himself under the protection of his *hahane*, the father will give way. It is very noteworthy that the *hahane's* influence is greater than that of the paternal uncles.

When a boy contemplates marriage, it is again the *hahane* to whom he applies for advice as regards the choice of a wife. She will tell him what reputation the girl has, upon whom he has set his affections, and whether there exists between the two families any kind of relationship prohibitive of marriage. If necessary, she will make discreet inquiries among the women as to the conduct and character of the girl and, in general, the suitability of the union.

If a child is ill, and on the "bones" been consulted, the paternal ancestors are indicated as responsible for the disease, it is the *hahane* who will usually be shown by the oracles as the one who must offer the sacrifice of propitiation.

CLASS VII.—BATUKULU (corresponds to grandchildren, uterine nephews and nieces, cousins).

This term is the reciprocal of *Bakokwana*, which we shall see in the next class:

By *batukulu* we mean three different groups of persons:—

(a) *The grand children*.—The pattern of behaviour is one of familiarity and leniency on the part of the grand parents. It will be further described in considering the class of the *bakokwana*. The children of the grand children are called *switukulunguhe* or *switukulunguhane*. It often happens that my other sons marry girls among my *switukulunguhane*, i.e., their grand nieces. This is done “in order not to lose the kinship with these children.”

(b) *The children of my sisters* (called *batukulu ba shirundu*, i.e., the nephews of the basket, the attribute and symbol of women).

We shall see in the following class the special behaviour of the nephews towards their maternal uncle.

A word may be said here concerning my nieces, daughters of my sisters. I am very free with these girls, can chaff and tease them (*ku bungunya*) though I will avoid too gross improprieties of language when speaking to them.

(c) *The daughters of my “hahane.”*—A still greater familiarity obtains with the daughters of my paternal aunt, who are also my *batukulu*. I may not marry these women, unless very exceptionally after going through the ceremony of *ku dlaya shilongo* (or *bushaka*) described by Mr. Junod<sup>(17)</sup>. Although they are not prospective wives and sexual relations are forbidden the greatest liberty of speech reigns between us. If a man happens to cross a river where this special *ntukulu* is bathing she will not take offence at it, and as the case may be with different clans and individuals, may either cover herself or go on unconcerned, or may even indulge in licentious language.

The sons of my *hahane* are also my *batukulu*. These cousins being often of the same age as I, we play together and tease one another. We often fight with sticks as a matter of amusement. Although they are very free with me, they will not go as far as helping themselves to my belongings, as do the sons of my sisters.

As Mr. Junod points out<sup>(18)</sup>, the *batukulu* play an important

(17) “Life of a S. African Tribe,” I, p. 258, 2nd Edition.

(18) *Opus cit.*, I, pp. 267-274.

part in the religion of the *bakokwana*. In the sacrifices for disease, if the bones have not stated otherwise, the *batukulu* sit in the front places and receive the first pieces of the sacrificial meat. In the harvest sacrifices called *lumiso* (from *ku luma*: to bite), the *batukulu* must *lumela* (bite) the first fruit. The *kokwana* will make the *batukulu* sit in front, looking towards the rising sun. Behind them are seated the other relatives, chiefly females. The officiating *kokwana* is at the side. Whilst he prays, the adult people clap their hands in the ritual way<sup>(19)</sup> (*ku ba guswi*). When they have finished, the chief *ntukulu* bites at the mealies and passes them to the other *batukulu*. But on the question of deciding who are the *batukulu* officiating at the sacrifices, I confess, not without reluctance, that I must differ from such an authority on the matter as Mr. Junod. For Mr. Junod, they are the “uterine nephews” sons of the sisters, and on this assertion are based several arguments proving the original matriarchal system of the Thonga. After extensive enquiries, I have come to the conclusion that the customs described by Mr. Junod in this respect are those of certain clans, especially among the Ronga people, and that for the greater part of the Thonga tribe the *batukulu*-grandsons (and even sometimes the *batukulu*-sons of the *hahane*) have, in the sacrifices, precedence over the *batukulu*-uterine nephews.

Regarding the construction of a new village by the *kokwana*, it is again the *ntukulu*-grandson who is called upon to officiate. After having been slightly thrashed, he is the first of all to penetrate into the circle marking the enclosure of the new kraal, and he clears the ground where the poles well be erected.

CLASS VIII.—BAKOKWANA. As mentioned before, the term is the reciprocal of *batukulu*. It includes the following groups of persons:—

(a) *The grandparents*.—The term is the same for grandfathers and grandmothers, both paternal and maternal. The general behaviour is one of familiarity. Still, there is a slight difference in my behaviour towards them. My maternal grandparents are more lenient to me than the paternal. The father of my father is the head of the kraal, and, as such, inspires me with more respect than my mother's father. But I am a favourite with all my grandparents, and may take food in their houses without asking. This

(19) The palms are hollowed and clapped rythmically by the audience. For dances and songs, the palms are held flat and produce another sound.

is called *ku phanga* (to take by force). For instance, if I see in my maternal grandparents' kraal some food which I desire, I shall ask for it. Even if they say: "Please, do not take it," I may say: "Yes, I will, and see what you will do!" I then take it and eat it with them, and they will only laugh.

In the case of a first-born child, the maternal grandparents will come and *alula* the new-born baby: that is, they will welcome it by bringing presents of food and 10s. or a £1. This money will be handed to the paternal grandparents through the mother, and the food will be eaten with all the relatives present. The paternal grandparents on their side bring a goat, which is killed and eaten by the two families. The child when weaned is sent to the maternal grandparents to be brought up by them. The parents will send from time to time presents of food and clothes to assist the grandparents in the task of bringing up the child. This is called *ku dyisa ngwana* (to make the child eat). When it is grown up and able to work, if it is a girl, she will come back to the parent's kraal. A proof of the easy life first-borns have at their grand-parents village is that a mother will commonly say to her lazy daughter: "You don't know how to work, it can well be seen that you have been spoilt by your *bakokwana*!"

It may be recorded here that a special pattern regulates the behaviour of my paternal and maternal grandparents towards one another. My paternal grandfathers call my maternal grandfather and grandmother, *masebe*, in the Khosen country (Portuguese East), *Ngwatsweku* or *Ntswalane* in the Transvaal. My maternal grandparents use the same term when addressing my paternal grandparents. The behaviour is of cordial and jocular familiarity. The men joke especially with the women of the other couple.

(b) *The maternal uncles and their wives*.—Among the Ronga, Zulu, Sotho, Pedi and Venda, these uncles have the special name of *malume*. Thongas, of the Transvaal, under the influence of these tribes, use also the appellation of *malume*, but the proper Thonga term is *kokwana*. In this relationship, familiarity attains its maximum.

It is not our intention to repeat here the excellent account given by Mr. Junod of the nature of the relationship between a *kokwana* and a *ntukulu*. (See *Life*, I, p. 231-233.) I shall only, as a complement to the description of this pattern of behaviour, give a typical account by one of my informants.



"I may one day go to pay a visit to my *kokwana*. I have washed well and anointed myself with oil; I have put on my best skins and stuck some beautiful feathers in my hair, which is nicely combed. As I approach his kraal, my *kokwane's* wives see me and say to each other, 'Here is our *ntukulu* coming, let us play a joke on him.' They catch hold of me. As they are four or five women and girls, they overpower me, carry me by the legs and arms and throw me on the ash-heap. One of them says: 'Bring some water.' Water is brought, and they mix it with earth and smear my face and my whole body with mud. Or they smear me with women's ochre. They ruffle my hair, take away the nice feathers and stick in ridiculous little fowl's feathers. They sprinkle my head with ashes. They have torn away the belt of skins around my loins and laugh at me. I likewise try to defend myself by tearing their dresses, but they hold me fast. Then my uncle, my *kokwane* arrives. He will clap his hands to greet me, and will say: 'O, my *ntukulu*! Do not be angry. You know that these foolish women are your *bakokwana*, and that it is only a joke.' He will order his wives to kill a fowl or a goat in my honour. They will then wash me with clean water, anoint me with oil, comb my hair, and adjust my skins. We shall then eat together and be merry."

As regards customs connected with the function of nutrition, which we followed through different patterns, we saw that food sometimes cannot be taken in the presence of certain persons, or that it may be partaken of, but not asked for from other persons, or that it may be asked for with certain etiquette, more or less elaborate, according to the varying cases. In the present pattern, we reach the highest point of the gradation we are attempting to describe; the *ntukulu* not only may eat with his *kokwane* and ask him for food, but he may take it without permission from him (*ku phanga*). He may break into his uncle's home and help himself, even in his *kokwane's* absence.

Between several brothers, the *kokwane* or *malume*, with whom I am the most familiar, is the one who has acquired his wife with the *lobolo* of my mother.

(c) *The father and mother of my great mukongwana*, her brothers, the sons and grandsons of her brothers are also my *bakokwanas* (see table of extended relationship through *lobolo*). I am very free and familiar with them, although I shall not help myself to their

possessions as easily as I would in the case of my grandparents and my maternal uncles.

(d) *The sons of my maternal uncles are also bakokwana.* Being a man, I do not allow myself such great liberties as with their fathers and mothers. We may just recall the fact here that their sisters are my "mothers," being the potential wives of my father. If I were a girl, the familiarity would be greater (*vide* the relationship with the *batukulu* daughters of my *hahane*).

If we now arrange the *bakokwana*, in order of decreasing respect and increasing familiarity, we obtain the following succession:—

- (1) The parents of my *mukongwana*, her brothers, the sons and grandsons of her brothers.
- (2) The sons of the maternal uncles.
- (3) The paternal grandparents.
- (4) The maternal grandparents.
- (5) The maternal uncles and their wives.

CLASS IX.—BALAMU (Sing. *namu*) BASATI (Sing. *nsati*) (nearest equivalents: BALAMU, brothers-in-law, sisters-in-law, BASATI, wives).

With the maternal uncles we seem to have reached the maximum of familiarity possible in social behaviour. We may, however, still go one step further with this class, which allows sexual intimacy, at least with the principal groups of this class.

Who are my *balamu*? They are:—

(1) The brothers and sisters of my wife. Among the Ronga, her elder brothers and sisters are called *bakongwana*, and are addressed as "fathers" and "mothers." It is not the case among the Thonga, who regard all brothers and sisters of the wife as *balamu*, though not so great a familiarity is indulged in with the elder as with the younger brothers and sisters<sup>(20)</sup>. Still, I may call the elder sisters of my wife, *basati* (wives)<sup>(21)</sup>.

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<sup>(20)</sup> The elder sisters of my wife are always married, for a girl is not allowed to marry before all her elder sisters.

<sup>(21)</sup> This term of *nsati* is not purely theoretical. It may happen that a man will marry the elder sister of his wife if she is a widow not claimed by anybody else. But this will create a very difficult situation as regards precedence. The younger wife will have to respect (*tshaba*) her older sister. Yet she is "the great wife." The only solution to the perpetual conflicts is for the man to build his wives two separate kraals at a distance from one another!

The younger unmarried sisters of my wife are my prospective wives. When they come to our kraal to visit their sister, they sleep in our hut. As one of my informants says: "My *namu* sleeps behind me," which means that I sleep between her and my wife. If she becomes pregnant as a result of this intimacy, this will not be considered as a very serious matter. My wife and the parents of the girl will rather be pleased. I shall pay a small *lobolo* for her, and she will become one of my secondary wives. She will be known as the *hlantswa* of her sister. She becomes, to a certain extent, her servant, and washes (*ku hlantswa*) her pots.

My younger brothers are also the *balamu* of my wife's younger sisters. These young boys and girls tease one another, beat one another with sticks (sometimes severely) for fun, and may have sexual intimacy.

The persistence of this pattern in the Native mind is so great that one of the frequent offences for which Church discipline has to be applied among converts, is adultery with a younger sister of the wife.

(2) Another variety of the *hlantswa* is the *hlantswana* (small *hlantswa*). This is the daughter of the brother of my wife. She calls my wife *hahane*, my wife calls her *ngwana* (child), and I call her *nsati* (wife). For a further description of the *hlantswana*, vide the article of Miss Earthy, "Terms of Relationship Among the Valenge," *S.A. Journal of Science*, 1926. As remarked by Miss Earthy, the term *hlantswana* applies also to the brothers of this girl.

(3) Other women who are my *balamu* and whom I may call my "wives," are the wives of my elder brothers. Familiarity with these women is somewhat restrained during the life time of their husbands, and I often address as *bamanana* (mothers). But after the death of my brothers they become by right my "wives."

(4) We have seen that the daughters of my great *mukongwana* are my potential brides. The same applies to their *hlantswana*, i.e., the daughters of their brothers, and also to their cousins, i.e., the daughters' daughters of the brothers of my *mukongwana*. (*Vide* the special table.)

The above patterns of behaviour have been described from the point of view of a man. For a girl, a few changes would have to be made.

A woman honours and respects her father- and mother-in-law more than a man his wife's parents. The reason for this can easily be understood, for, concerning the father-in-law, the pattern is the same as for Class II, being the reciprocal of the behaviour of a man towards his daughter-in-law. As regards the mother-in-law, the woman is her servant until she has given birth to a child, as, during the first year, the newly married pair live with the parents of the husband.

Reciprocally also, a woman will avoid her husband's elder brothers, and joke (*bungunya*) with his younger brothers.

A man's wife and his sister are in a special relation. They are *muharibo* one to the other. This term used in the Transvaal comes from the Sotho. In Portuguese East Africa it is replaced by *nhombe*. The behaviour is one of friendship.

We have seen that if a girl gets into trouble, especially as regards sexual matters, she will first seek advice from or make a confession to her paternal aunt or *hahane*. If the *hahane* is not available, she will apply in order of precedence, first to her *kokwana* (*malume's* wife) or her *kokwana* (grandmother), and if these are not to be found she will go to a younger sister of her mother (who is a *mamana*, a mother). It is the *hahane* or these substitutes who will announce the news to the mother of the girl.

I conclude these incomplete observations on a subject which needs to be studied more extensively with one remark.

It has been attempted to explain the special position of the *malume* and of the *hahane* by the following considerations: There is one pattern of behaviour extended to the whole sib of the mother or to the sib of the father. The *malume* represents the sib of the mother and impersonates affectionate and lenient feelings inspired by the mother, whilst the *hahane* personifies the paternal sib and the more stern and respectful sentiments inspired by the father<sup>(22)</sup>.

There may be some truth in this theory. However, it does not explain the following facts:—

(1) Although the *hahane* is often called by the Thonga a "female father," a more careful study of the pattern shows that it allows a great familiarity, and bears no trace of the inhibitions caused by

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<sup>(22)</sup> Vide "The Mother's Brother in S. Africa," by Professor Radcliffe Brown, *South African Journal of Science*, 1925.



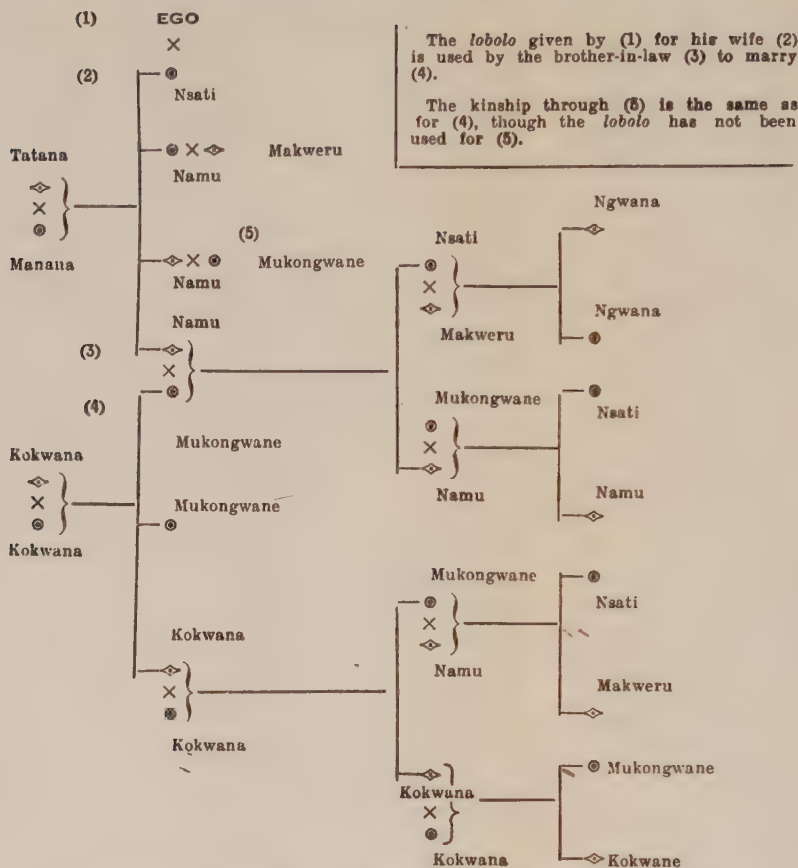
(3) Similarly, why should the *malume* embody better the affective qualities of the mother's family than the mother's sisters?

These are a few of the problems which have yet to be solved if any explicative theory is to be attempted of our Bantu systems of kinship.

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## EXTENDED RELATIONSHIP THROUGH LOBOLO.



Note the logic of the system. This relationship has terms parallel to those of the relationship through descentence or by marriage. The *bakokwana*—corresponding to my grand-parents and those of my wife—give birth to a woman who cannot be married: the *mukongwana*—who corresponds to my mother-in-law and to my mother. The *mukongwana*, as my mother-in-law, gives birth to “my wife.” Her brother, like my mother’s brother, is a *kokwane*, and like my wife’s brother (*namu*) lives on terms of familiarity with me. Whilst the brother of my mother gives birth to a *manana* (mother) whom I must respect and cannot marry, the brother of my *mukongwana* gives birth to a *mukongwana*, a woman I must likewise respect.

One sees that the patterns of behaviour, as far as women are concerned, are with each generation alternatively respectful and familiar, prohibiting and allowing marriage.

This extension through *lobolo* of the ordinary relationships exists also among the Pedi, Venda, Zulu, Swazi and Xosa, it seems indeed, among all the S. African Bantu tribes.

ACACIA DETINENS: SWARTHAAK: MONANA

This tree furnishes the bulk of the firewood used by the Batlhapiñ and a considerable amount is sold in Kimberley and in the villages on the Alluvial Diamond. Diggings in Griqualand West.

The bushes are used for the purpose of enclosing cultivated lands, though this use is contrary to true Setlhapiñ law, as in former days the cutting of this tree, after the first rains had fallen, was strictly prohibited. It was said that such cutting would be the cause of hail and other adverse weather conditions. The tree is said to attract lightning—the hooked thorns are supposed to have the power of enticing and detaining the “weather spirit.”

The wood is also used for constructing cattle folds and for the making of yoke skeys.

The timber has a dark-brown heart which, on the application of oil, turns almost black and takes a high polish. It is easily seasoned. As the tree is never very large, the timber is only suitable for turnery and fancy work.

The legumes and leaves are an excellent stock food, particularly as they are in abundance during the month of November—a usually dry time of the year in Griqualand West.

ACACIA GIRAFFAE: CAMELTHORN: MOKALA

Mokala is considered a mighty tree and in former days was not used indiscriminately by the common people. Only chiefs and other great men were permitted to use it for building their cattle folds.

The tree is supposed to attract lightning, hence the saying, “Do not go near a *mokala* during a storm if you value your life.” If one is struck by lightning and any portion of the wood becomes charred, the doctor scrapes this off into his medicine horn.



If a Motlhapiñ takes refuge in a *mokala*, it is said that the enemy's weapons will not harm him, and he will also be safe from the attack of wild animals.

Like the *moñana*, the cutting of this tree during the summer was prohibited and a considerable portion of the tribe still adheres to this rule. This is aided, no doubt, by the fact that in terms of the Forest Regulations this tree is protected.

The heart wood is hard, durable and dark reddish-brown in colour. It was formerly used by Batlhapiñ smiths for fuel. The grain is rather coarse and the timber is too heavy for moveable furniture, but it is eminently suitable for machine bearings, turnery and ornamental work.

The leaves and legumes are a good stock food. The analysis of the seed pods, according to Marchand, shows that they contain:

Water	...	...	14.54	Crude fibre	...	...	26.13
Crude protein	...	...	13.18	Ash	...	...	6.29
Ether extract (fat)	...	...	2.75	Carbohydrates	...	...	47.11

The farm Anthorn in Barkly West District is known to the Batlhapiñ as *Mokalanen* (at the Camelthorn tree) owing to the fact that a solitary tree of this species flourished there for many generations. It was known to the Bushmen as *cwi cwanap* (one Camelhorn), and stood on what was originally the boundary between the Korannas and the Batlhapiñ. Later, this became the boundary between the Tauñ and Dikgatloñ sections of the Batlhapiñ sections of the Batlhapiñ Tribe. Under this tree boys who had not behaved themselves were thrashed with *Moretlhwa* switches. It was eventually blown down during a storm and was removed by the owner of the farm (the late Mr. Matabili Thompson).

At Greefdale, in the same district, stood a camelthorn tree known as *Mokala wa Bokgosi* (the Royal Camelthorn), and it was here that the tribal affairs of the Batlhapiñ were discussed.

Another large tree of this species grew at Mayeñ Location, Barkly West, and was a noted landmark for miles around. It was struck by lightning and died towards the end of the Anglo-Boer War.

The pole (*Mokogòrò*) erected at a circumcision lodge usually consists of a trunk of a Camelthorn tree.

*ACACIA HEBECLADA: TRASSIEBOS: SEKHI*

This is a small shrub and is not used for any particular purpose by the Batlhapiñ. The leaves and legumes are useful for stock feeding.

The Sekhiñ Location in the Barkly West district derives its name from the *Sekhi* bushes found there.

*ACACIA KARROO: SOETDORING: MOOKA*

Mooka is the Batlhapiñ children's favourite tree owing to the large amount of sweet gum it produces during the summer. The poles and wattles are used chiefly for hut building, the inner bark being the means by which the wattles forming the frame of the roof are tied together. This bark is also used for basket making. The outer bark contains a fair amount of tannin and is employed in the preparation of skins.

The tree is supposed to attract lightning. There is a prohibition, similar to that applying to *Mokala*, against its being felled during the summer.

The timber is hard, of medium weight and a light colour. It is particularly liable to attack by insects, but this may be overcome by immersing it in a weak solution of arsenic.

The leaves and legumes are valuable stock foods. Marchand gives the following analysis of the pods:

Moisture	...	...	6.48	Carbohydrates (by diff)	
Protein	...	...	28.09	containing:	
Ether extract (fat)	...	4.33	True Protein	...	25.33
Crude fibre...	...	14.30	Nitrogen	...	4.49
Ash	...	4.83			

*ACACIA LITAKUNENSIS: WITHAAK: MOKU*

This tree is used chiefly for the building of cattle folds and for firewood. The timber is similar to that of the *Acacia Karroo*, but not so liable to destruction by insects.

This is undoubtedly the most valuable *Acacia* legume producer in South Africa, but as far as the writer knows no analysis of the seed pods has yet been made.

On page 207 of *Among the Bantu Nomads*, by J. T. Brown, an account is given of how the Batlhapiñ under Phuduhucwane outwitted the Baroloñ at Tauñ. Tradition has it that the goats mentioned in this account were tied to a Moku tree.

*BOSCIA ALBITRUNCA: WITGATBOOM: MOTLOPI*

*Motlopi* (the white one) is considered a very valuable tree by the Batlhapiñ. The roots are pounded and made into a porridge. They are also roasted and ground up for the making of a substitute for coffee. The fruits are eaten. The tree being a useful one to the tribe, the cutting of it is discouraged, although there is no absolute restriction against this. Setlhapiñ law enjoins that under no circumstances must the wood be burnt. The Batlhapiñ, as well as other Bechuana tribes, say that if a person burns *Motlopi* his cows will only produce bull calves.

The timber is white, tough, and close-grained. It is used chiefly for making spoons, dishes and other household utensils. The wood, being very white, is particularly suitable for poker work, at which some members of the tribe are adepts.

The leaves of this tree are readily eaten by stock.

*CELTIS RHAMNIFOLIA: WITSTINKHOÛT: MODUTU*

When other timber is available, this tree is not much used by the Batlhapiñ. It is not durable and, before the advent of sulphur matches, the partially decayed old trunks provided suitable tinder material. Spoons are occasionally made of this wood. A forked stick cut from the tree is sometimes employed for stirring meat while it is being broiled. This is said to ensure a rapid increase of live stock.

The timber is light with very long grain and woolly texture.

*COMBRETUM ERYTHROPHYLLUM: BUSHWILLOW,  
VADERLANDS WILGE: MOKHUKHU*

This tree is used for carving ornaments and the making of grain mortars. The wood is soft, spongy and has a light yellow colour.

*EHRETIA HOTTENTOTICA: CAPE LILAC: DEURMAKA-  
ARBOS: MOROBE*

This is the hunter's tree. Before a hunting party set out the tribal doctor pounded up the root of this tree and mixed it with hair from a buck ram's head. Water was added and the hunters were sprinkled with the mixture. This was supposed to ensure a good bag.

When a hail storm is threatening, a branch from this tree is drawn along the ground in the neighbourhood of the gardens to protect them against destruction.

The fruits are edible, the timber is tough and has a drab colour.

*EUCLEA OVATA: GWARRI: MOTLHALECOGANE*

This is a small shrub. It is supposed to attract lightning. It is used for making sticks. The fruits are edible.

*GREWIA CANA: ROSYNTJIESBOS: MORETLHWA*

"The Setlhapiñ Raisin Tree."

The small berries which this tree produces are very much sought after by the Batlhapiñ. They are relished by old and young. Sackfuls are collected, dried and stored away for use when the fresh fruits become exhausted.

The switches are used for basket making and in former days the wood was a popular one for the manufacture of assegai shafts.

Batlhapiñ youth love the fruits, but the switches have a use which they do not love, as they take the place of the English birch or South African kweperlat when the rod can no longer be spared.

At circumcision lodges the initiates are each provided with a number of *moretlhwa* switches, with which they strike the *mokhoro* or pole which is erected at every lodge. It is here that the switches are applied to their backs with more than usual vigour.

This tree is considered a protection against lightning. A stick is placed on the top of the hut to keep the lightning away. The roots and leaves are used for medicinal purposes.

As a stock food the leaves, young shoots and fruit have a high value.

*GYMNOSPORA BUXIFOLIA: GIFDORING: MOTLHONU*

The Batlhapiñ use the long hard thorns of this tree to extract other thorns from their feet. They are also supposed to be a cure for heart disease. A goat is killed, the heart is taken out and pierced with one of these thorns, then cooked and eaten by the patient. The piercing of the goat's heart is supposed to have the effect of liberating whatever trouble that is in the patient's heart.

The timber is close-grained, heavy and white.



*LYCIUM SP.: KAREEDORING: MOTHANTHANYANE*

These shrubs are used for making firesticks and tinder.

*OLIA VERRUCOSA: WILD OLIVE, OLYVENHOUT:  
MOTLHWARE*

Very few of the Batlhapiñ will venture any distance from their homes without being armed with a stick from this tree. It is "par excellence" the stick producer, whether for ornamental or defensive purposes. Other articles made of this wood are skeys, chairs, grain mortars, swingle bars and poles. The fruits are occasionally eaten, but they are generally too bitter to be relished. They are also pressed out and the juice mixed with water to make writing fluid, which is a passable substitute for the cheaper inks usually stocked at traders' stores.

The leaves, having astringent properties, are used for medicinal purposes, while an infusion is prepared and drunk as a substitute for tea.

"The sapwood is white; tinged with red; the heart wood is very heavy, very hard, very strong, close-grained and compact, and moderately elastic, and has been used in wagon-work, mill parts, machine bearings, tools and furniture, for which latter purpose, as it takes an excellent polish, its gnarled nature produces beautiful figures, although the available quantity of suitable size is small." (Sim.: *Native Timbers of South Africa*.) "For bearings it is stated that it does not heat like brass, requires less oil, and wears the spindle less." (*Cat. Col. and Ind. Exh.*, 1886.)

*RHIGOZUM TRICHOTOMUM: WILDEGRANAAT: MOKUBUR-  
WANE*

From this tree a forked stick is cut for the purpose of stirring milk and porridge, and for roasting meat.

The wood is light yellow with a fine grain.

*RHUS BURCHELLII: TAAIBOS: MOGODIRI*

This tree is used for sticks, hut building, and the enclosing of court yards.

The timber is hard, cross-grained and difficult to plane, but polishes very well. The rays are noticeable, and the pores are somewhat resiniferous.

*RHUS INCANA: SUURBESSIE: MOGODITSHANE*

The sour berries are edible. The leaves are eaten by stock during dry seasons. The heart wood is a brown colour, rather soft, easily planed, but not durable.

*RHUS LANCEA: KAREE: MOSILABELE*

The timber is used for making chairs, assegai shafts, skeys, spoons and baskets. It contains a considerable proportion of tannin, and is used for preparing animal skins. The tannin in the timber causes it to turn red when exposed to sun light. It has a very fine grain, is rayed, and, if cut in the proper manner, provides a beautiful wood suitable for high-class ornamental work.

*RHUS TRIDACTYLA: SUUR KAREE: MOKHIDI*

The berries are edible, and the roots are used for tanning skins. The timber has similar properties to *Rhus Lancea*.

*ROYENA PALLENS: BLOUBOS: MOTLHAYE*

The wood is used chiefly for making household utensils such as spoons and basins, and also for hut building. The roots provide a tannin which is fairly widely used.

Sticks cut from this tree must not be used by herd boys when driving cattle.

*SALIX CAPENSIS: WILD WILLOW: MODIBONOKA*

The leaves and roots are used for medicinal purposes, the switches for basket making, and the timber for making grain mortars, spoons and dishes.

The leaves are a good stock food.

*TARCHONANTHUS CAMPHORATUS: VAALBOS: MOHAT-LHA*

Wattles cut from this tree are extensively used for enclosing court yards surrounding the huts of the Batlhapiñ.

The leaves contain a fair amount of camphor, and are used for medicinal purposes.

The wood is excellent for fire-making, and a large amount of it is sold for this purpose. It was also used for making assegai shafts.

It is prettily marked, and should be suitable for the manufacture of small fancy articles.

Chewing the leaves is said to ward off evil influences, especially when a person is on a journey in a strange country.

*ZIZYPHUS MUCRONATA*: WAG-'N-BIETJIESBOS: BOK-GALO

Mokgalo is said to have the property of warding off lightning. A person taking refuge under one of these trees during a storm will not be harmed.

The timber is light yellow, tough and close-grained. It is used for making dishes, spoons and grain mortars. The berries are edible, but have a very insipid taste.

On no account must *Mokgalo* be cut after the first summer rains have fallen. If this were done a drought would ensue.

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# AGRICULTURAL CEREMONIES IN NATAL AND ZULULAND.

By H. C. LUGG.

## GENERAL OUTLINES.

All the tribes of Natal and Zululand had in the past a series of ceremonies in connection with their hoe culture, the most important taking place one at the time of sowing, the other at the time of gathering the harvest. Most of these ceremonies are tending to die out nowadays, but it is still the custom in most tribes for the people to undergo some form of purification, termed *ukweshwama*, before they can partake of the new season's crops, and the magnitude or otherwise of these purification ceremonies is regulated largely by the social standing and strength of the tribe. With some they hardly go beyond individual treatment at the hands of some *inyanga*, or medicine man, whilst with others efforts are made to attain something of the magnificence with which such ceremonies were clothed in the time of the Zulu kings.

Hereditary chiefs, and by these I mean men who have succeeded to the position as a matter of right by reason of their birth, as distinct from artificial appointments made by the Government, are in particular found to evince a desire to carry out these ceremonies more fully than men of lower rank. This is attributed by some to the fact that chiefs who can claim descent from distinguished ancestry have powerful ancestral spirits to appeal to, and that chiefs not so favourably placed purposely refrain from holding these feasts because of the belief that their efforts would only result in disaster owing to their ancestral shades being over-shadowed by those of their more powerful neighbours.

In Natal, as elsewhere, we find tribes which are offshoots from some main or *indhlunkulu* stem, and although recognised by the Government as separate tribes with their own chiefs, they nevertheless still regard themselves as subordinate branches to the main house from which they sprang, and this is particularly noticeable when the time comes to hold first fruit festivals.



It then becomes a matter of tribal etiquette, at one time very carefully observed, for each section to seek permission from the *indhlunkulu*, or senior section, to hold the festival, and for each to celebrate in turn according to priority of rank.

Great secrecy is observed in making the necessary preparations for these feasts. The main object is to be first in the field in order to avoid the danger of a rival chief securing the ascendancy. It is also essential that the ingredients should be secured from some foreign tribe. Consequently, preparations for these annual festivals frequently led in early days to predatory raids on neighbouring tribes, and it was due, no doubt, to this danger that the legislators of Natal included a provision in the Code of Native Law prohibiting the holding of these feasts without the express permission of the Supreme Chief. (See Sec. 260 of that Code). Conditions having changed, this rule is no longer insisted upon.

As regards Natal proper, most of my information about these ceremonies has been obtained from two natives<sup>1</sup> closely related to their chiefs, who frequently assist with the ceremonies. Their accounts have been verified as far as possible from other sources, and can, therefore, be relied upon.

The one is a member of the Amafunze tribe under Chief Langa-lake Ngcobò, occupying a portion of the Zwartkop Location, not far from Maritzburg. This tribe is a branch of the Negobo, or Nyuswa people, the parent head of which is to be found in the Ndwedwe District of Natal.

My other informant is from the Amabaso tribe, located in the Msinga District, not far from the Zululand border.

In order that this account may be more readily followed, it is as well to point out here that the king or chief is the custodian of all sacred articles used in connection with these celebrations.

These sacred objects are secreted in the great hut or *indhlunkulu*, i.e., in the house of the chief's mother, and are kept at the section furthest from the door, which is known to the natives as the *emsamo*. This is the sacred spot in every native hut, more especially in the *indhlunkulu*, where the ancestral spirits are believed more particularly to dwell.

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<sup>1</sup> Nqaka Ngcobo and Mageva Kanyile. For the information dealing with observances followed in the time of the Zulu kings, I am indebted to an account in the Zulu language and contained in "Uhlangakula," by Mr. James Stuart.

It is here that all the spirit offerings are made. No one is permitted to sleep at the *emsamo*, although food and general household paraphernalia are kept there.

The sacred articles include the ancestral assegai, hoe, axe, hearth stones, sleeping mat, blanket, fire sticks, pot sherds, earthenware pots, knob stick, ordinary stick, prepuce cover, etc. Many of these are of very ancient origin, and all those of metal are made from native iron.

In many tribes we also find the *Inkata yo muzi*,<sup>2</sup> or sacred grass coil, symbolising tribal unity. There are two such coils, one large and one small. The former is concealed in the roof of the chief hut, buried under the thatch. The other, about the size of a small motor car tyre, is kept at the *emsamo* of the same hut. These grass coils contain some of the "essence" of the chief and members of the tribe. Their purpose is to keep the people together and to prevent the tribe from disintegrating.

To secure this essence, straws are collected from the entrance of the several huts in the kraal where they bear evidence of having been soiled by people passing in and out. Soil is also collected from foot-prints; and a pit is dug, lined with straw upon which members of the royal family are required to vomit after taking specially prepared emetics.

Another process found in the Dhlamini tribe is to use the grass (purposely laid) slept on by the army, after the stomach contents of a white goat have been added.

Variations are to be found from tribe to tribe, but when we come to deal with the ceremonies in detail it will be found that all these articles are associated in some way with them. The central feature of the ceremonies themselves consists in an appeal to the ancestral spirits, which may simply take the form of prayer or the prayer may be accompanied by sacrificial offerings.

The most powerful spirits are those of departed chiefs, and it is to these, through the medium of the living chief, that the tribe appeals. These old chiefs, as well as all men of note, are referred to by means of praises or *izibongo*, and it is by the recital of these *izibongo* at functions of importance that their fame is handed down

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<sup>2</sup> One of these coils is to be seen in the Maritzburg Museum. It was captured from Meseni's tribe during the Bambata Rebellion.

to posterity. Even to-day, we find the praises of men sung who lived many centuries ago. These *izibongo* are rendered in the form of chants or songs, and certain of these are specially set apart for recital during the celebration of the First Fruit Festivals. They may never be sung at any other time. As a rule they are short and cryptic, sometimes consisting of only three or four words, and unless one is well acquainted with the early history of the tribe, they defy translation. It is exceedingly difficult to give all the reasons which give rise to the observances with which we are now dealing, but there is no doubt that underlying all, there is the belief that the ancestral spirits wield a tremendous power in regulating the forces of nature either for the good or ill of the society. Food being the mainstay of the people, it is imperative that the nation's food supply should be free from any taint likely to be injurious to its well-being, and that the chief around whom radiate the spirits of his ancestors should be strengthened and protected from evil influences. He should not only be invulnerable, but should be capable of punishing all who may be working against him or the interests of the community. To do this he must have brave and fearless soldiers, and hence we find the introduction of a military side to the celebrations. Finally, the chief must be assured of a bounteous and healthy harvest. No member of a tribe, therefore, may partake of the new season's crops without first participating in the strengthening and purifying ceremonies associated with the First Fruit ceremonies.

The main functions of the First Fruit Ceremony would, therefore, seem to be (1) the strengthening of the chief, (2) the strengthening of the army, and (3) the assurance of a sanctified and ample harvest.

#### CEREMONIES OBSERVED BY THE ZULU KINGS.

I will begin by giving a short sketch of the ceremonies which I understand were performed by the Zulu kings prior to the annexation of Zululand in 1879.

First there was the custom *ukukot'igeja* or "the licking of the hoe," as it is called.

The time for holding all these ceremonies was determined by the special *inyanga*,<sup>3</sup> who was specially skilled in such matters,

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<sup>3</sup> In the time of King Mpande, Zokufa, the father of the late Chief Sigananda, who figured prominently in the Bambata Rebellion, was such a man.

and whose duty it was to advise the king. He was guided, no doubt, by seasonal conditions, and he always selected a time when the moon was at its full, or thereabouts, in order that the people could avail themselves of its light, for the ceremonies often extended through the night.

The *inyanga* would send word to the king, warning him that the time for planting had arrived, and of the danger incurred in delay lest some rival chief should begin to plant before him. Special men were immediately dispatched to another tribe, generally the Swazis, to steal a fierce black bull from their herds, and samples of soil from their fields. The soil is called an *igade*—literally “a clod.” It was necessary that these things should be obtained by stealth and brought to the King in secret.

Having been secured, the King summoned one or two regiments of youths to his kraal. It was not the occasion for a big gathering. The bull was then seized and sacrificed in the usual way by having its neck twisted. No assegais were used or even permitted to be carried at these gatherings except for a weapon used at the actual slaughter.

The flesh of the animal was roasted on a special fire, and only consumed by youths who had not attained the age of puberty. (It is the custom for all remains to be carefully collected and burnt or secreted by the *inyanga*).

The King also underwent special treatment, and here it might be stated that with the natives of Natal and Zululand, their pharmacopoeia is divided into two main divisions or classes—the black medicines, or *imiti emnyama*, and the white, or *imiti emhlope*—each having a special purpose of its own. The former medicines are believed to be endowed with supernatural powers, whilst the latter, when used in connection with these feasts, are employed to restore the King to a normal state after being treated with the black medicines in order that he may be re-admitted to society without harm to it.

A concoction was prepared by the *izinyanga* and roasted on a sacred pot-sherd, or *udengezi*. Some was also roasted on the sacred hoe—hence the name of the ceremony which we are now describing. The King partook of these mixtures by sucking them



off his fingers, or *ukuncinda*, as the natives call it. This is a very common way of taking medicine, but when a man is being specially treated apart from reasons of sickness or disease, this method is also employed.

To the mixture so prepared was added some of the soil brought from the foreign country. Sea water also figured in these mixtures.

On this occasion the grain to be planted and the King's fields were also subjected to some form of treatment, but I am not in a position to give details at present. This point will be more fully dealt with when the Natal tribes are referred to.

The ceremony of *ukukot' igeja* does not appear to have been an occasion for festivities apart from the singing of a song, the words of which were "The King has eaten of the *igade*."

This was the occasion for the regiments being turned out to till the land and plant the King's crops. The event is referred to as *ukutat' amageja*, or "the taking of the hoes." No doubt cultivation of the season's crops would now be proceeded with by the people as a whole, but I have no first-hand information on the subject.

When the crops were somewhat advanced, a further ceremony was held. It was known as *ukunyatela unyaka*, or "the stepping into the new year," and incidentally infers the casting off of the old year with all its ills, and the ushering in of a new season with hope and anticipation for better things. It was also called the *umkosi omncane*, or "little" *umkosi*, and was held a month or so before the final and great ceremony known as the *umkosi* proper.

The main object of the *umkosi omncane* was to protect the King from the harm which might result from his coming into contact with those who might have partaken of the new season's crops without purification. That there would be transgressors against the recognised observances was realised, especially in time of famine.

It was also the occasion for proclaiming any new laws and for granting permission to certain regiments to *tunga*, or sew on the head ring and to marry. Groups of girls would be allotted to these regiments. The final handing over would occur at the *umkosi*

proper, but meanwhile both the men and the women would be given an opportunity to let their hair grow long to enable the former to prepare for the sewing on of his head ring, and the latter to *kehla*, or construct her chignon.

Here, as with the ceremony of "*licking the hoe*," I understand a further fierce bull was sacrificed and eaten by youths who had not attained puberty, but I have no definite information on the point, nor has it been possible to ascertain why its consumption was confined to such youths, unless it was to endow them with strength and courage.

The ceremony appears to have extended over several days, and included the sacrifice of specially selected oxen at each of the King's kraals to the great ancestral shades of the nation, Senzan-gakona, Jama, Punga, Mageba, etc., and the King was doctored to prevent his being over-shadowed by rival chiefs. The following words were sung:—

*Oye, iye, he yiya!*

*Ha! O-hu-yi-yi,*

*Ha! O-ho-hu!*

*Hi-i-ya. Ihi!*

The words are mere exclamations, and have no particular meaning as far as I can ascertain. The King's heralds also sang his praises, and, of course, the praises of his forefathers would not be omitted.

It was also the occasion for a visit to the sacred burial grounds of the former kings of the nation. These grounds are situated in the Mahlabatini District, near the White Umfolozi, and are known as Emakosini.

The graves were surrounded, and each regiment would in turn approach within a respectful distance and appeal to the shades with the shout of "*Woza-ke, Woza-lapa*" (Come therefore, Come hither) shouted many times.

At the conclusion of these celebrations the regiments were disbanded and allowed to return to their homes in order to make preparation for the great *umkosi*, or final feast.

The actual treatment undergone at these ceremonies is referred to by the natives as *ukweshwama*, and these ceremonies are commonly spoken of collectively under this term.

Preparations for the *umkosi* proper were on a far larger scale. In addition to what was used at the other ceremonies, the ingredients included samples of all known native crops; also the *uselwa*, or species of wild water-melon, and *itanga le nyoka*, the fruit of a creeper, sea water, and water from the great rivers, such as the Tugela, Umfolozi and Mhlatuze. To these also must be added many other medicines only known to the *inyanga*, but I have specially referred to the *uselwa* and the *itanga le nyoka* because they figure prominently in these ingredients and are never omitted.<sup>4</sup>

The utmost secrecy was observed in securing these samples, and it was essential that the men employed should secure them unobserved, otherwise their potency would be lost. Men of standing were engaged on this service. Having been introduced into the *indhlunkulu*, or house of the king's mother, the samples were made up by the *izinyanga*, who added powerful medicines of their own.<sup>5</sup>

I am unable to give the details of the treatment to which the Zulu King was subjected at these various ceremonies, but the information to be given later when dealing with the practice with Natal chiefs will give a fair idea of what must have been the practice in Zululand. All I can say is that the Zulu King was doctored with powerful black medicines, followed by treatment with the white variety.

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<sup>4</sup> The *uselwa* is similar in appearance to a small melon, but it is very bitter, and has an objectionable odour. One reason given by one of my informants for its use was that it "impressed" one on being seen. It gave the impression of having been cultivated and yet was known to be wild. It is the nearest approach to the cultivated article, and is considered to add strength to the latter. The very fact that the *uselwa* was used for the *umkosi* would be sufficient in itself to impress the native mind, so that too great a significance should not be attached to this line of reasoning.

<sup>5</sup> It has not been possible to ascertain what other medicines were used, nor is it natural to expect that they would be known when the utmost secrecy was observed in their preparation, but besides the *uselwa* and *itanga le nyoka*, the following are amongst those classed as black medicines, as given to me by my informants:—*Umbinda*, *umfuce*, *umluto*, *igade* (clod), *unyenye intshungu*, *usangume*, *umayime* and *impikayiboni*.

How they came to be so regarded I am unable to say, but these are in use amongst Natal tribes, and it is more than likely that many were "borrowed" from the *izinyanga* of Zululand.

Amongst the white medicines known as *imiti emhlope*, or *ubulawu*, may be included the following:—*Ihlali*, *ibinini*, *umuluka*, *umfanozacile*, *isiwisa*, *iroza*, *ibuta*, *inhlanhla*, *umdabu*, *umusa*, *ibheka*, *itshinga*, *izaza*, *isidumo*, *igwayana*, *ungqengendhlela*, etc.

It is common belief that only the King could take these powerful black medicines. A commoner would have died instantly.<sup>6</sup>

The King was kept in seclusion undergoing treatment for two or three days, and from what I have been able to gather, there is good reason to believe that it was a gradual process to enable him to withstand the more potent medicines he was given at the final ceremony.

The treatment had the effect of making him very fierce and terrifying. He was daubed all over the face, limbs, and body with various coloured powders of the black variety, and whilst this was going on the people would be assembling in their thousands, making for the Royal kraal, dressed in all their finery. (I am here referring to the *umkosi*).

Apparently the bull sacrificed at the *ukunyatela* was the one which the King himself used for purposes of *ukweshwama*, but a second one was also killed at the *umkosi* and used in a similar manner.

At the *umkosi* the beast was killed in the usual way by having its neck twisted and then carried into the King's private enclosure, where it was skinned, treated with special medicines by the *izinyanga*, roasted on a sacred fire prepared from the friction sticks, cut into strips, or *imbengo*, and then thrown to the assembled warriors, snatched up and eaten.

At one stage of the proceedings the King emerged dressed in skins and painted up as already described to look as fierce as possible. He carried a white shield with a black spot on it. (This shield covering was adopted by Shaka). He also carried a sacred stick known as *induku yo muzi*, and advanced from the great house in response to the shouts of his warriors "*Woza-ke, Woza-lapa*" (Come forth, Come hither), accompanied by his principal wives and men of state.

The skins comprising his dress were those of the baboon and other animals. From what has been stated by early writers it would appear that he was also decorated with a girdle of maize and kafir corn leaves. Statements of very old informants support

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<sup>6</sup> Where a native fainted for no apparent reason whilst drinking beer with his chief, the cause was attributed to his having unwittingly used an emetic which the chief was in the habit of taking.



the early descriptions. For instance, Magodhloza Ngcobo, an old man of over eighty years, uncle of chief Langalake, tells me that Langalake's father, Hemuhemu, had leaves of kafir corn and maize hanging around him in addition to the animal skins, and that stalks of sweet sorghum were tied to his ankles and trailed along as he walked. Nowadays only the animals' skins are used.

The King proceeded to the kraal gate carrying a gourd of the *uselwa*, which he dashed to pieces and crushed into the ground with his heel amidst the shouts of "*Wa, Wa, Mswazi ka Sobuza*,"—with a responding shout of "*Wu, Wu, Wu*." It was a denunciation of Mswazi, the son of Sobuza, the Swazi King, with whom he was at war and whose downfall was desired.

At the gate he underwent further treatment by the *ukuncinda* process, and with some of the mixture in his mouth, spurted at the sun. With some tribes the chief says nothing, leaving it to the crowd to do so. The words commonly used are:—*Yayi hlaba eli shoba eli bomvu*. This has reference to a bull-fight in which the King is represented by the victorious bull.

This is a ritual which we also find followed in times of sickness, and the only time it is done is when the sun is either rising or setting, and apparently with the object of absorbing some of its great power.

This part of the performance accordingly took place as the sun rose, and at its conclusion the assembled multitude made for the river for a ritual bathe. The King also received treatment at the hands of his *izinyanga*, and judging from what we have found in Natal, we can only conclude that he was then treated with white medicines to remove the effects of the black medicines, to enable him to resume normal intercourse with his people.

A general feast, the allotment of women to the various regiments as had been already arranged at the *ukunyatela*, and the promulgation of any new laws closed the proceedings.

#### CEREMONIES OBSERVED BY CHIEF LANGALAKE NGCOBO.

Our Natal Chiefs, with whom I will now deal, perform much the same ceremonies, but modifications must be expected, and we find variations from tribe to tribe.

With Langelake the ceremony of *ukukot' igeja*, (licking of the hoe) does not take place until the crops are actually being weeded. It is a minor affair and only calls for a small gathering. The chief is doctored in his mother's hut. A sample of soil taken from the garden of some other tribe is used; also spinach and other ingredients associated with spring and the new year's harvest. The sacred hoe is used as a pan on which the mixture is fried, and from which the chief sips from his fingers. The hoe rests on the sacred hearth-stones whilst the cooking process goes on. No sacrifice is made on this occasion, but immediately the chief has sipped of the mixture he leaves the hut, carrying the hoe and one of the hearth-stones. He proceeds to one of his fields where a number of people are lined up with their hoes to receive him. He orders them to weed his crops, and at the same time, whilst standing in the young maize, he strikes the shank of the hoe with the hearth-stone, signifying that he has done his hoeing, and then returns to his hut. After the weeding those who assisted are treated to beer and then sent home.

This ceremony is followed by the *ukunyatela*, and with Langelake preparations for this are opened by the arrival of one or two companies (*amaviyo*) of young soldiers at his kraal one afternoon. They are ushered into the hut of the chief's mother, where they spend the time singing special *ukunyatela* songs and drinking beer.

At the same time the chief undergoes treatment at the hands of his *inyanga*; a mixture is prepared and fried in a sacred pot-sherd or *udengezi*. This sherd is of ancient origin, and was probably taken in war against some other chief, or stolen from him. It never belonged to a commoner. It is supported on three hearth-stones, and when ready, the mixture is taken by being sipped from the point of the chief's ancestral assegai and the sacred stick known as the *induku yo muzi*.

Having done this, the chief rushes out of the hut, his young warriors having already preceded him, and spurts at the setting sun with a mouthful of the mixture. He says nothing except to utter a long "shooing" sound as he spurts. At the same time he points the assegai and stick at the sun, accompanied by a shout from the warriors—"It stabs it with the red tail." He spurts twice at the sun, and the shout is uttered twice, after which all return to the hut and drink beer.

The chief may sleep<sup>7</sup> but his men continue to dance and sing throughout the night.

The next morning the same ceremony is repeated at the rising sun, and the same shouts are uttered.

After these proceedings the chief visits his fields, where a large number of people will have assembled to assist him in cleaning his crops. Having given the order for them to weed, he moves to one side and drinks beer. When the work is over, the chief approaches his people, chanting a song, which is taken up by them. The words of this song are as follows:—

*Sinike ukufa kwas' eMampondweni,*

*Yewu! Yewu!*

*Nazi ya!*

*Sinike ukufa kwas' eMampondweni.*

*Balele. Yewu! Yewu!*

Give us the disease of Pondoland,

*Yewu! Yewu!*

There they are. (Meaning cattle.)

Give us the disease of Pondoland.

They are asleep. (Off their guard.)

The words "Give us the disease of Pondoland" are a request to be given an opportunity of contracting the disease which afflicted Tshaka's army in his campaign against the Pondo chief Faku, in order that they also might prove themselves<sup>8</sup> worthy warriors.

The chief now returns and has a ritual bath in his cattle kraal. The people do likewise at the river.

The chief now slaughters a white goat by piercing it with the ancestral assegai in the breast. A portion of the caul is removed and fried at the *emsamo* on a sacred pot-sherd specially set apart for offerings to the spirits, and different from the one from which the chief sipped. The chief also anoints the forefinger of each hand with some of the gall, and swallows a small quantity from the palm of his hand.

Mixed with the caul is incense made from the *mpepo* and other white medicines.

<sup>7</sup> This is not permitted in some tribes.

<sup>8</sup> This has reference to Tshaka's Campaign against the Pondo Chief Faku, where many Zulus died of disease.

The object of all this is to cleanse the chief and his people from the effects of the mixture which he took by sipping from the point of the assegai and stick. Medicines of a mild description are used for this particular *ukuncinda*, and are not so potent as those which are used later at the *umkosi*. Nevertheless they are sufficiently powerful to warrant the use of white medicines as a protective measure against them.

It is at this *ukunyatela* that permission is given for men to adopt the head-ring, but permission to marry is now a matter regulated by law in Natal.

Here, as at the *umkosi*, opportunity will be taken to announce matters of importance.

At any time before the *umkosi* is held, should the chief find it advisable to do so, in view of the advanced condition of the crops, he will undergo purification or *ukweshwama*. This is done, not that he may partake of the season's crops, but that he may protect himself from the effects of those who may have transgressed and eaten of the new fruits before the *umkosi*. The chief does not touch anything of this description until after the *umkosi*.

This *ukweshwama* treatment is done privately. Men are sent to steal samples of the season's crops from some foreign source, and when these have been secured the chief is treated by his medicine men.

Sheep do not figure as a rule in these rites, but with Langalake we find that at the *ukunyatela* he does slaughter such an animal. It is killed by one of his brothers with an ordinary assegai and *not* with the ancestral weapon. A sheep is a symbol of mourning; the skin is used to wrap up the head of a dead chief, but the reason why it should figure at the *ukunyatela* is not clear. The skin is used by the chief to kneel on when he sips from the mixture with the point of the ancestral spear and the sacred stick. The flesh is given to the old women to eat. It is not touched by the men; and the skin is afterwards secretly disposed of.

One reason advanced is that, being a docile animal, the sheep is sacrificed to make the chief more considerate and merciful towards his subjects. It is also an animal that shows no signs of fear. For this reason it figures in doctoring against thunder and lightning.



A month or so will now elapse between the *ukunyatela* and the *umkosi*.

Again special messengers will be sent off to secure the samples to which we have repeatedly referred and brought to the chief in secret. Here they are taken over by his *izinyanga*. They are made up into black medicines, and are prepared in a pot-sherd different from those hitherto used. It is of very ancient origin and has been in the tribe for many generations. My informant is unable to say where it came from, but presumes it was secured in some campaign in early times.

The mixture is fried in this sherd over a fire prepared from the friction sticks. (I should have mentioned that the fire used for preparing all these mixtures is obtained in this way, no ordinary fire being used; and these fires are extinguished as soon as they have served their purpose.)

Having been treated to the mixture by the *ukuncinda*, the chief rushes from the hut in the same manner as he did at the *ukunyatela* ceremony, and spurts at the setting sun to the shouts of "It has stabbed it with the red tail."<sup>9</sup>

Two days hence the *umkosi* will be held, and during the interval the *izinyanga* are busy preparing the necessary medicines and ingredients for the final ceremony. The chief also undergoes further treatment during this period.

The proceedings open with the arrival of some companies of regiments one afternoon. They are accommodated in the cattle kraal of the chief's kraal, where they spend the night singing and chanting. They are special songs for the first fruit festivals and are never sung at any other time. From these may be cited the following:—

*Uyi vumele. Wa hlul' amakosi.*

*Uyi vumele, Ayeza nkosi.*

*Wo, yiyi, Wo. Yek, inkosi.*

*Ayi biza Amafunze.*

*Bayi biza ngani?*

*Uyi vumele.*

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<sup>9</sup> It is quite a common practice for chiefs to spurt at the rising sun, even under normal conditions.

He has permitted it. (To assail the enemy).

He vanquished kings.

Behold a mighty king.

He is hailed by the Amafunze people.

Why do they call him?

He has permitted it. (To assail the enemy).

*Inyoni ya mabuto,*

*Eya hlul' amakosi,*

*Silikihli.*

Mighty birds of the soldiers

Which vanquished kings

With complete annihilation.

(Here the King is described as a king of birds. The close association of certain birds such as the eagle and the vulture with the sky and clouds, gives them an importance with which the King should bear comparison.)

All fires are extinguished on the night of this assembly of warriors, and the chief is confined to his hut, where he undergoes treatment at the hands of his medicine men.

The fire is re-kindled by means of the friction sticks or *uwati*. In this tribe, as in several others, the hard wood of the *umbinda* tree is used for this purpose, and not the wood of the *uluzi* which is, or was, in general use.

The sacred pot which we described as kept within the *inkata* coil, is replenished with fresh mixtures being added and cooked on the hearth-stones, as was done at the *ukunyatela*.

The friction sticks are worked by the chief's brothers in turn until a fire is kindled.

A sheep is also slaughtered on this occasion. The ancient hoe and piece of pot-herd are again brought into requisition, and some of the contents of the *uselwa* contained within the earthenware pot fried on these. From these mixtures the chief sips by dipping his fingers into it (*ukuncinda*).

The chief, in response to the repeated shouts of his warriors to come forth, emerges from his hut as the sun is about to rise, dressed and painted up in order to take part in the *umkosi omnyama*, or the black *umkosi*, which precedes the *umkosi omhlope*, or white *umkosi*.

Half of his face and body is painted black, and the other half yellow. His body is garbed in baboon skins suspended from his neck and shoulders, with a girdle of similar skins round his loins. He also wears a close-fitting cap of the same material, and suspended from his arms and legs are "tails" made from a variety of moss lichen, which is found in large quantities hanging from old trees and dead wood in our larger forests.

The chief is also armed with the ancestral assegai and sacred axe.<sup>10</sup>

The chief, now surrounded by his near relatives and warriors, proceeds to the cattle kraal. He is followed by one of his brothers with his special pot of mixture, whilst others bring another pot for the use of his brothers and near relations, and a large pot of mixture for the warriors. Youths also follow with complete specimens of maize and sweet sorghum plants; also cooked maize in ear.

On reaching the centre of the cattle kraal, the chief, with a shoing sound, spurts at the rising sun, pointing at it with his weapons as he does so. He then turns to the west and spurts in a similar manner. He spurts with a mouthful of the special mixture.

His warriors respond with a shout:—

*Ji! Hala! Hala!*  
*Yayi hlaba elishoba libomvu!*  
*Ji! Hurrah!*  
 The bull with the red tail has gored it!

This is followed by a chant sung by the chief, with a refrain by his men:—

<i>Wo! Vuma Ndaba.</i>	} By Chief.
<i>Wo! Vuma Ndaba.</i>	
<i>Hayi, Zi! Zi!</i>	
<i>Wo! Vuma Ndaba!</i>	} Refrain by Warriors.
<i>Wo! Ye! Wo! Ye!</i>	
<i>Wayi vuma indaba ye mkonto!</i>	

<sup>10</sup> I have been unable to ascertain the ingredients used for preparing the pigments with which the chief is painted, but they belong to the black medicines; and I might say that it has not been possible to find out why moss should be used, except that it hangs and has the appearance of the "tails" which warriors wear on their arms and legs, and probably symbolises these as they are not permitted at this stage of the proceedings.

The baboon is a cunning animal, and clever in eluding its pursuers, and probably for this reason and because of the hideous and fierce expression which such a "get up" gives its skin is used for robing the chief.

I have not been able to get the exact meaning of this song, as it is of very ancient origin and its real significance has been lost. Nevertheless it is regarded as one of the most important songs or chants sung at this feast. It came from Zululand. Ndaba was the name of an ancient ancestor.

The chief now partakes of some of his special mixture, and then his male relations, and the warriors, each in turn from their particular pots.

Those who are unable to attend are supplied with a little by their friends.

At the conclusion of this part of the ceremony the chief retires to the calf enclosure, there to undergo a ritual wash with white medicines or *ubulawu*, to rid him of the effects of the black medicines, to enable him to resume intercourse with his people. Here he is assisted by youths who have not attained the age of puberty. Adult males are not allowed in this enclosure at all. He not only undergoes a wash, but also sips of specially prepared white medicines. Meanwhile his men have proceeded to the river, where they also undergo a ritual bathe. The wash used by the chief is allowed to sink into the floor of the calf enclosure in order to give strength to the calves.

When the warriors reassemble they are again met by the chief in the cattle kraal in response to the following shouts:—

*Mana! Siya ku biza Nkosi!*

*Ayeza, Anjengo mnyama!*

Stand for ever! We hail the King! They (the soldiers) are coming.

They are as the darkness. (Like the might of a black and irresistible thunder cloud.)

The chief is now garbed in a simple loin covering, or *mutsha*, made entirely of the skins of a species of jackal known as the *igqalatshu*. It is an animal noted for cunning and elusive habits.

With this chief nothing further occurs on this day except that the people are provided with beer and boiled mealies of the previous year's crop. They are then dispersed to the various kraals in the neighbourhood, to reassemble two days later in all their finery to take part in the final ceremony known as the white *umkosi*.



Meanwhile all remains of the mixtures are taken back to the chief's hut. The maize and sweet sorghum is eaten by the youths after they have used the stalks to beat a bull, which, together with a few other cattle, was kept in the kraal during the ceremony. The other cattle, which include cows, are not treated in this way. It is done with the object of imparting strength to the bull. No sacrifice is made on this occasion.

Two days later the people assemble in all their finery. The day of their arrival is spent in dancing, beer drinking and feasting on the new year's crops, and in all this rejoicing they are joined by the chief. The final ceremonies follow the next day, when the warriors collect in and about the cattle kraal. The chief is now dressed in his full ceremonial attire. He is clothed from head to foot in leopard and other animal skins, the civet cat and silver monkey figuring prominently in his *mutsha*. His face is covered with a piece of leopard skin, with two holes for his eyes, and on his arms and legs are the usual white ox tails. Around his throat he has ox tails, and the complete tail of a leopard hanging down his chest. On his head he wears a cap shaped somewhat like a fez with side flaps coming down over his ears, the whole made out of silver monkey. He is armed with shield, assegais and knob stick.

All the chief's cattle are brought in, and from these several oxen are slaughtered by the chief. First, an ox given as an offering to the ancestral spirits is brought up and, whilst held, is stabbed by the chief on the breast with the ancestral assegai. Before the ox is slaughtered, the chief offers up a prayer to the spirits, of which the following is an example:—

*Okuhle, okumhlope, siyacela.*

*Sicela ukupila, umoya omuhle.*

*Nisibheke njalo Makosi.*

*Kukule nabantwana,*

*Sitole ukudhla nempahla,*

*Inkonzo enhle nakwa ba mhlope.*

*Basi pate kahle njengoba besi pete.*

*Ngitsho kuwena Nonyanda omnyama,*

*Wena gumbu, lwa magwala,*

*Hlangabeza qogo lizayo.*

*Ngitsho kuwena Mahawule, nkundhla zibomvu,*

*Godide, Nontshantsha,*

*Ngitsho ku wena Madhlenya, ondhlebe zinde njenge ndhlovu,  
Indosa ebomvu ebonwa abavuki bo kusa.  
Ngitsho ku wena Hemuhemu,  
Isigoloza esimehlo abomvu,  
Esibhek' amadoda angati siwa jamele,  
uMandindizela ongati izulu elidumayo.*

Goodness and purity, for these we ask,  
We ask for health and happiness.  
Protect us for ever Makosi,  
That our children may grow, and that we may have food and wealth,  
That we may be law-abiding to the whites,  
And that they may continue to rule us justly as hitherto.  
I appeal to you, Nonyanda, the black one.  
You, the musician for denouncing cowards,  
Brave and mighty warrior ever ready for the foe.  
I appeal to you, Mahawule, *alias* Godide, *alias* Nontshantsha,  
With a home noted for its hospitality.  
I appeal to you, Madhlenya, with the long ears of an elephant,  
You, the morning star, seen by early risers.  
I appeal to you, Hemuhemu,  
Whose gaze is like the blood-red glare fixed upon a multitude,  
Whose speech is like the thunder from the sky.

The spirits addressed were former chiefs of the tribe.

After the animals are slaughtered, the caul, portion of the liver, lungs, etc., are taken and roasted in a special sherd at the *emsamo* of the chief's hut, as a spirit offering, and when the spirits are considered to have had their fill, the meat is cooked and general feasting follows.

There is no sowing of corn over the people with this tribe, nor do they kill a bull by twisting its neck, as we find in other tribes.

The sacrifice of a bull is a warlike preparation to strengthen the King and soldiers for war, and as this tribe has lived in peace with its neighbours for many years, the practice has fallen into disuse. It was formerly the custom to kill a bull.

#### CEREMONIES OBSERVED BY THE AMABASO PEOPLE.

With the Amabaso people the *ukukot igeja* and *ukunyatela* ceremonies are held together, and the time for holding them is fixed by the chief on the advice of some of the old men.

The preliminaries are similar to those found in other tribes, but there is no gathering of the people at the chief's kraal. This is an exception to the general rule, and is probably due to the fact that it is a small tribe. Nevertheless it has a long history.

With this tribe the sacred fire is kindled from the *uluzi*, a variety of tree nettle. With other tribes a hard wood known as *umbinda* is used as distinct from the *uluzi*, which is a soft wood and in general use for kindling fires by means of friction sticks.

When a fire is about to be made from the friction sticks for use in these ceremonies, all other fires in the chief's kraal are put out. With some tribes all fires are extinguished and fresh ones kindled from one in the chief's kraal. This is followed to a certain extent in Langalake's tribe.

It is as well to point out, however, that as soon as a fire has been used for preparing black medicine it is extinguished, and a fresh one kindled for further use.

The usual ingredients having been obtained, the *izinyanga* proceed to make them up with medicines of their own.

My informant is unable to give the names of these various medicines, because he only saw them when they were partly mixed or in the form of barks when identification was difficult.

At these initial ceremonies the medicines are fried on the sacred hoe and on a pot-sherd used only for the preparation of black medicines. From these mixtures the chief takes sips from the end of his fingers. He is not allowed to lie down or to go to sleep during the night. He sits on the skin of a wild animal such as that of a baboon. This animal is noted for its cunning and elusiveness in escaping from its pursuers. This may be a reason for the use of its skin.

The mixture fried on the hoe is different from the one prepared in the sherd, but both belong to the *black* variety.

This is recognised as a preparatory treatment in order to enable the chief to undergo the final and most rigorous one at the *umkosi*, when the most powerful medicines are used. In addition to the *ukuncinda*, or sipping method of taking medicine, the chief is also given a mixture to eat, made up of samples of the season's crops taken from foreign fields.

Within the small grass coil, or *inkata*, is a special *imbiza*, or earthenware pot, containing the cooked remains of past feasts; and in the centre of this mixture is to be found a gourd of the *uselwa*. This *uselwa* also contains the mixtures of past celebrations, but they are of a most powerful kind, and they are not touched until the *umkosi* is held. This appears to be the general rule in most tribes.

The *uselwa* is removed from the earthenware pot, and then the latter is used for cooking up the old and new crop samples.

The fire is specially kindled by the use of the friction sticks by one of the chief's relatives. As soon as it has served its purpose it is put out and a fresh one kindled.

The fire is made on the common hearth, but the vessels used for frying the mixture rest on three sacred hearth-stones.

Within the *nkata* coil are stored all the articles used in preparing the mixtures, and it is of interest to know that the pot containing the *uselwa* gourd rests on a human skull, within the *nkata*. This I find to be a common practice with most tribes, although it is not readily admitted. I am informed that the skull is that of an enemy killed in some tribal war, or picked up on some battlefield.

Early next morning the chief is given some of the mixture from the earthenware pot to eat. (This has been boiled.) He is also given medicine to drink. At sunrise he leaves the hut and spurts at the sun, belching and uttering a growling sound as he does so.

After spurting at the sun, the chief returns to the hut, where he is treated with an emetic of white medicine. He vomits into a dish, and this vomit is conveyed to the calf kraal and thrown there to be trodden underfoot by the calves to strengthen them. The chief is also washed down with medicines to strengthen him. The white medicines used for these emetics, and for washing the chief, are kept in special pots, and are mixed with the remains of past feasts.

Mixed with these white medicines is a diamond. It is not swallowed with the emetic, but is kept in the pot of the emetic. As one of the late chiefs of the tribe (Tulwana) worked at the diamond fields when these were first opened, it is presumed he brought it back from there. My informant describes it as a black



diamond, the size of a pea, and as he has worked at the fields himself and claims to know the difference between a white and black diamond, I must accept his statement as being correct.

It has always been regarded as of great value, because whenever the tribe has been threatened with a raid from one of its neighbours, it was one of the first things taken and concealed in the tribal fastnesses.

This tribe does not sacrifice at the *ukunyatela*.

During the early hours of the morning, kafir corn, kept in a special earthenware pot, is treated with black medicine. This grain is kept for sowing over the people at the *umkosi*. Another lot, kept in corn baskets, is similarly treated. This corn is of foreign origin, and is introduced to strengthen the national crop. Maize does not figure in this treatment.

The *ukunyatela* has a two-fold object—to strengthen the chief and the crops.

After undergoing the purification wash, the chief rejoins his family, but from then until the *umkosi* he will continue to take white emetics and vomit these into the calf kraal; and during this interval he receives constant attention from his medicine men.

The day after the *ukunyatela* the grain is taken from the corn baskets and sown over the ground broken up near the chief's kraal. This appears to be a mere formality, because it receives no further attention. It should be stated here that by the time the *ukunyatela* is held in this tribe, the crops will have already been planted and fairly advanced.

From the conclusion of the *ukunyatela* to the holding of the *umkosi* the chief continues to receive treatment from his medicine men, but he does not live on any special diet, nor does he observe rules of celibacy.

No fresh samples are secured in this tribe for the *umkosi*. A quantity is left over from the *ukunyatela* and cooked up at the *umkosi*, but with several tribes I am informed fresh supplies are obtained.

As the time for the *umkosi* approaches, the medicine men advise the chief, and word is sent round for the tribe to prepare the

beer. The time for holding the feast will be near the time of the full moon, and the various regiments will make ready for assembly at the royal kraal on the date fixed.

With this tribe only one *inyanga* attends to the chief. On the day fixed for him to undergo treatment, regiments assemble at his kraal in the afternoon. The chief remains more or less in seclusion in his mother's hut with his medicine men. He is undergoing *ukuqunga*, or strengthening treatment, and the following are amongst the medicines used: *mfuce*, *mluto*, *mbinda*, and *bogo*. These are the barks of trees. They are ground into powder and mixed with sea water. Early next morning the chief is smeared over with this black powder. In addition to this, the chief will also undergo the *ukuncinda*, or the sipping of fried medicine from the tips of his fingers; and during this particular day he will drink beer only and abstain from taking ordinary food. He drinks the beer alone, and does not share it with anyone.

On this day an ancient prepuce cover is used. It is one of the sacred articles, and on the first day on which the chief receives treatment it is balanced on the end of a piece of wood. The piece of wood is ill-balanced, and is set up in the pot-sherd, or *udengezi*, used for frying the black medicines after they have been cooked and removed from the fire, and the prepuce cover is balanced on the top of it. The chief then sips the concoction from his fingers, exercising great care not to upset the prepuce cover, for should it fall, it would be regarded as a bad omen, and the whole of the *umkosi* would be cancelled for that year.

The wood is of *umsimbiti* tree, largely used on the coast for making walking-sticks; and the prepuce cover is stated to have been taken from a man killed in some tribal war. It is not worn by the chief, but he has another which he wears for this special occasion.

My informant is unable to tell me what significance is to be attached to the use of these two articles.

Amongst the powerful black medicines with which the chief is smeared when he emerges from his hut on the morning of the *umkosi* are human remains of several races. This medicine is not taken inwardly, and is not included in the *ukuncinda* mixtures.

As the sun sets on the first day of the chief's treatment, he goes forth and spurts at it with *black* medicine. In doing so he says:—

*Walu jikijela!*  
He has thrown it! (the *uselwa*).

The period during which the chief is treated with black medicines, and which extends to the time of the holding of the *umkosi*, when the chief is purified with white medicines, is known as the *umkosi omnyama* or black *umkosi*.

During the afternoon of the first day the warriors arrive chanting *umkosi* songs. These are never sung at other times. The words are:—

*He-hi-ya ehe; yadhla le nkonyana*, which might be freely translated into:—

Yes, oh, yes; this calf (meaning the chief) is eating, *i.e.*, can devour or consume his enemies.

During the whole of the ensuing night the chief continues to receive further treatment. He may not lie down or sleep, and from time to time will require to *ncinda*. He sits on a special mat or stool during the night.

During this night samples of crops are cooked up in a large *imbiza*, or earthenware pot, for consumption by the people next day. The chief is also provided with a similar preparation but far more powerful, which is cooked in the *imbiza* containing the *uselwa* gourd, and to which we had occasion to refer when speaking of the *ukunyatela*. The chief partakes of a little from the *uselwa* gourd and some from the *imbiza*, or pot, containing it. No one but the chief dare partake of these mixtures—not even his brothers.

During the whole night the soldiers chant and dance in the cattle kraal, repeatedly calling upon the chief to come forth.

As the sun rises he emerges from his hut and is immediately surrounded by his warriors. He runs a short distance; spurts medicine on his hands and knees, and finally spurts at the sun, to the shout of his warriors, "*Walu jikijela*" (He has thrown it, *i.e.*, the *uselwa*). At this stage he is clothed in the skins of wild animals, in which the skin of the baboon and leopard predominate, being the same dress he wore at the *ukunyatela*. He is also smeared over

with black medicines, but he is not daubed with spots as is the custom with some tribes, nor are corn leaves intermixed with his dress as we find with Langalake. He is armed with a sacred knob stick and the *induku yo muzi*, or stick of the kraal.

The chief enters the cattle kraal escorted by his warriors. They chant the one principal chant or *irubo*, which they sang all night. It is as follows:—

*Iya dhlala inkonyana,  
Ye, Ye, zulu lapendula,  
Izul' li let' amafu ako Soshangana,  
Ye, Ye, zulu lapendula.*

The calf (meaning the chief) celebrates the *umkosi*,  
Ye, Ye, and the sky becomes overcast.  
The sky bears the clouds of Soshangana  
(Soshangana, a chief away north),  
Ye, Ye, the sky becomes overcast.

My informant has forgotten the rest of this song. He states it did not originate with his own people, but was borrowed from the Zulu Kings.

From the cattle kraal the chief enters the calf enclosure alone. No other male except boys who have not attained the age of puberty may be permitted in this enclosure. Here the chief takes an emetic from a pot handed to him by a body servant standing outside the enclosure. He then vomits on the floor of the enclosure, and for the purpose already described, this vomit is trampled in by the calves to strengthen them.

He also washes his body down with *white* medicine, and discards all the apparel he wore. He then darts back to his hut and dresses in all his finery.

Whilst the chief is so engaged, his soldiers make for the river, where they also undergo a ritual wash.

Finally the chief returns to the cattle kraal dressed in all his finery and armed with his shield, a special small spear known as *umkonto wempi*, or war spear, the stick known as *induku yo muzi*, and the knobkerrie. He does not carry the ancestral assegai.



As he enters the kraal gate, a ferocious black bull with sharp horns is driven into it. It is seized and thrown by the warriors and then struck on the back of the head by the chief's brother with the sacred axe. As the beast dies the chief sucks blood from the wound and spurts it at the sun.<sup>11</sup>

No assegai is used on this animal. It is immediately skinned and portions of the caul, liver and one or two other organs are placed on a pot-sherd and allowed to smoulder on some coals in the calf enclosure, having been placed there by the chief's brother, who does so by reaching over. He does not enter there.

This is an offering to the spirits, and here prayers are said by the chief's brother.

The beast was also doctored during the night with special medicines to make it fierce (*ukuqunga*), to endow the warriors with the same spirit. For this reason its flesh is not eaten by the chief, but only by the warriors. Women do not partake, and are never allowed to enter the cattle kraal.

As soon as the flesh is cooked and smeared with medicines, by the *izinyanga*, it is thrown to the warriors, caught up and passed round, each taking a bite or two. The whole animal is consumed. The stomach contents are buried in a pit dug in the cattle kraal whilst the ceremony is proceeding. The bones are similarly treated, but the skin is cut up and concealed. In times of drought it is burnt by the *inyanga* to induce rain.

After the bull is consumed, four or five oxen are slaughtered for the common feast. One beast is reserved for the women of the royal household, and another for the chief and his male relatives. Portions of these animals are roasted on a pot-sherd in the *indhlunkulu* as a spirit offering. There is no waiting in this tribe for the spirits to have their fill. General feasting and dancing continues until the next day, when the proceedings come to an end.

Mention should be made that immediately after the bull is killed, the chief's brother sows kafir corn over its carcase and the

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<sup>11</sup> My informant cannot give me the words but, as far as he can remember, they were addressed to the spirits.

people. Some of the seed is mixed with the blood of the animal and thereafter mixed with the seed that is used to plant in the chief's main field.

The little spear known as the "war spear," is of much significance in this tribe. It remains in the keeping of the chief, is decorated with bead work, and a number of small *uselwa* gourds are firmly bound to it. These contain powerful medicines. As far as I can gather, around it radiates the martial or war spirit of the people, and were harm to come to it, the tribe would disintegrate.

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# FRESH LIGHT ON THE PREHISTORIC ARCHAEOLOGY OF SOUTH AFRICA

By C. VAN RIET LOWE.

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## INTRODUCTION

Due to the enterprise and generosity of the University of the Witwatersrand and with the support of the South African Association for the Advancement of Science, it was my pleasure to organise and my privilege recently to conduct a party of prehistorians on a 1,200 mile archaeological tour. The principal areas traversed included the Vaal Valley from Vereeniging to Barkly West, the Riet from Jacobsdal to Klein Philippolis, the Caledon from Wepener to Clarens, with incursions into Basutoland and the Orange Free State generally.

The following notes are intended as a brief review of the objects and results of the tour, so that we may not only have a record of certain important work done, but also that those whose fortune it was not to be present may appreciate the significance of the field entered, the scope it offers and the research that remains to be done.

The members who took part in the expedition included M. l'Abbé Breuil, Professeur à l'Institut de Paléontologie Humaine and most distinguished prehistorian of the day, Mr. H. J. Braunholtz, of the British Museum, Mr. and Mrs. Harper Kelley, of Cincinnati, U.S.A., Dr. Petronella van Heerden of Cape Town and Mrs. R. F. A. Hoernlé, of the University of the Witwatersrand.

## OBJECTS

(1) Primarily to enable M. l'Abbé Breuil personally to inspect home and factory sites of various prehistoric folk and so enable him to form a more independent opinion of the prehistory of South Africa than would have been possible had such an expedition not been undertaken.

(2) To invite and enable the Abbé to help us solve the many problems with which we are presently confronted, and to invoke his aid in the solution of such questions as cultural succession and possible correlation of local cultures with those of the North.

(3) To stimulate more general and profound interest in a field of research in which South Africa is destined to play an exceedingly prominent part.



## ITINERARY

It is not possible and neither is it necessary to refer to this in detail here. The total distance covered (by car) amounted to nearly twelve hundred miles and included visits to and inspections of over thirty selected home and factory sites ranging in age from the beginnings of the Earlier Stone Age (Lower Stellenbosch Culture) to the end of the Later Stone (Smithfield Culture). Special allowance was made for visits to and examinations of areas that contain rock engravings and rock paintings. The times spent at sites varied from a minimum of about two to a maximum of nine working hours. Earlier contacts with the sites selected made it possible for me to eliminate all reconnaissance and preliminary work, so that by direct procedure we were able, in the time at our disposal, to do what we set out to do. Large collections of implements were made—at least 12,000 specimens—tracings and photographs of engravings and paintings were taken, and the University reaped a rich harvest from its enterprise.

The principal sites visited were :—

- (a) Klipplaatdrift, Vereeniging : Lower Stellenbosch. (Chelles-type).
- (b) Sheppard Island, Bloemhof : Upper Stellenbosch. (Acheul-type).
- (c) Canteen Kopje, Barkly West : Upper Stellenbosch. (Acheul-type).
- (d) Fauresmith, Town Lands, O.F.S.: Lower Fauresmith. (Old Levallois).
- (e) Brakfontein, Fauresmith, O.F.S. : Middle Fauresmith. (La Micoque).
- (f) Fauresmith Town Lands, O.F.S.: Upper Fauresmith. (Late Levallois).
- (g) Koffiefontein Town Lands, O.F.S. : Middle Stone Age. (Moustier-type).
- (h) De Kiel Oost, Jacobsdal, O.F.S.: Smithfield "A" plus. (Upper Palaeolithic).
- (i) Stowlands, Boshof, O.F.S.: Rock Engravings. (Upper Palaeolithic).
- (j) Avalon, Fauresmith, O.F.S. : Smithfield "B." (Upper Palaeolithic).
- (k) Ventershoek, Wepener, O.F.S.: Smithfield "C" plus. (Upper Palaeolithic).
- (l) Ladybrand Town Lands, O.F.S.: Rock Paintings. (Upper Palaeolithic).
- (m) Modderpoort, Ladybrand, O.F.S.: Rock Paintings. (Upper Palaeolithic).

(n) Schaapplaats, Bethlehem, O.F.S.: Rock Paintings (Upper Palaeolithic).

Collections made at these sites are to be seen in the Ethnological Museum of the University of the Witwatersrand.

## RESULTS

The results of the expedition are perhaps best summarised as follows :—

(1) That our claim that South Africa is one of the richest archaeological fields in the world is fully justified. Remains of prehistoric man's handiwork are not only remarkably abundant, but also extremely varied. In the Valley of the Vaal alone, we have remains that belong to the following cultural horizons :—

SOUTH AFRICAN DIVISIONS		NORTHERN COUNTERPARTS	
<i>Earlier Stone Age</i>	{ Stellenbosch Culture	{ Lower :	Chelles + Clacton.
		{ Middle :	Chelleo-Acheulean.
		{ Upper :	Acheul.
	{ Fauresmith Culture	{ Lower :	Old Levallois.
		{ Middle :	La Micoque.
		{ Upper :	Late Levallois.
<i>Middle Stone Age</i>	{	{ Lower :	Moustier.
		{ Lower-Middle :	Moustier plus.
		{ Upper-Middle :	Moustier plus
		{ Upper :	Solutrean Retouch. }
<i>Later Stone Age</i>	{ Smithfield Culture	{ Lower or "A" :	Upper Palaeolithic.
		{ Middle or "B" :	Lower Capsian.
	{ Wilton Culture	{ Upper :	Upper Capsian or Tardenoisian.

There is now less doubt than ever that my oft-repeated assertion that in the Vaal Valley lie hidden the greatest secrets of South Africa's prehistory is fully justified, for, apart from the great variety of remains, the problems of cultural succession are frequently solved for us by actual stratification—the only entirely reliable solution. Extensive search in this area alone will add very considerably to the results already obtained.

In addition to the acute question of cultural succession, we have here all the data necessary for a better appreciation of the all-important question of prehistoric climatic conditions. In order fully to appreciate any culture, it is necessary also to know something about the climate in which that culture flourished, and the question of South African pleistocene climates is one that has not yet received the attention it merits. One of the more important results of the tour is the support we have received from the Abbé in our cries for an investigation into the geology of the Vaal Valley during the Pleistocene Period, with special reference to meteorology. Until this is done, it is impossible for us to reconstruct the past as we should do. For example, I incline to regard the terraced gravels of the Vaal as being the result of successive pleistocene pluviations—ultimately, perhaps, to be correlated with the palaeartic glaciations—whereas the Abbe considers these gravels as being due to the breaking of a series of barriers across the Vaal and the disappearance, one by one, of a series of at least three large lakes. The existence of the lakes implies moist conditions, but there may have been only one long moist period, whereas the pluviations must have been successive, and the implication is at least three (possibly four) pluvial periods following each other over a vast period of time, each separated by a dry period or a period of comparative aridity. The interpretations differ and affect the issues profoundly. It is immediately obvious that a vast and fascinating field awaits the researches of a trained and competent pleistocene geologist.

(2) The discovery, under the leadership of the Abbé, in the sixty-foot terrace on Canteen Kopje at Barkly West, that the Victoria West Industry *belongs* basically to the Stellenbosch Culture, and that the abundant Victoria West type remains there found are actually the factory-site debris of the maker of Upper Stellenbosch tools. Here, as elsewhere, the typical Upper Stellenbosch implements—whether *coups de poing* or *hachereaux*—are worked on large end or side (mainly side) flakes struck from prepared cores or nuclei of characteristic Victoria West type. Cores vary from a few to several score pounds in weight and the smaller specimens are absolutely “Victoria West,” in size, shape and details of flaking.

This discovery, important as it is, does not, however, solve the true Victoria West Industry, for although it may now legitimately be claimed that the Upper Stellenbosch factory-site debris is “Victoria West” in every respect, and that the Canteen Kopje Victoria West and Upper Stellenbosch types *belong* to one and the same lithocultural

and time horizon, yet the occurrence at Victoria West of "core-type" artifacts in such great preponderance over *coups de poing*, plus the absence of large flakes, suggests the possibility that what was originally a core ultimately became an implement. If this is so—and I think it is—then the Victoria West Industry, as it occurs at Victoria West, is an entirely autochthonous development and offshoot from the parent Stellenbosch Culture<sup>1</sup> and must therefore be regarded as a distinct industry of the Earlier Stone Age. It possibly owes its origin to material-to-hand—to the peculiar spheroidal fracture of dolerite.

In the Upper Stellenbosch Industry we have revealed to us a technique not unlike a magnified and slightly distorted Levallois of Europe. We have a large flake, destined to become an implement, struck from a prepared or trimmed core—a technique revealing adroit craftsmanship, more especially to be admired when we realize we are dealing with an industry that belongs integrally to a lower palaeolithic period. The true Levallois technique was practised in South Africa, both the Old and the Late, but it does not occur here earlier than the Fauresmith. The Abbé has shown that the Fauresmith Culture is divisible into three phases: so—

Fauresmith Culture	{ Lower :	Old Levallois Type.
	{ Middle :	La Micoque „ .
	{ Upper	Late Levallois „ ,

and as these occur stratified over Stellenbosch remains, and while the palaeartic lower palaeolithic is apparently without a similar technique, it is possible, even probable, that we have in the Upper Stellenbosch a technique that represents the beginnings of the true Levallois of both Africa and Europe.

(3) The Abbé's masterful appreciation of technique brought to light the fact that the Middle Stone Age in the area traversed comprises several—at least four—phases, and that these represent gradations of a Moustier-type culture from the earliest true Moustier-type implement to a proto- or pseudo-Solutrean type. The "Solutrean Retouch" appears fairly early in the Middle Stone Age and gradually increases until this Age is represented by an abundance of Solutrean-type tools and other marked Neanthropic influences, before it merges into the Later Stone Age with its typically Neanthropic Smithfield and Wilton Cultures. It is in the Middle Stone Age—probably late—that the burin first appears in South Africa. It reappears in the Wilton, but is not definitely known in the Smithfield.

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Lowe, *Further Notes on the Archaeology of Sheppard Island*, S.A.J.S., Vol. XXVI., 1929.



Of the many thousands of Smithfield implements collected, only four "possible" burins were found, and it is felt that the latest description of the Smithfield Culture in the *Annals of the South African Museum*, Vol. XXVII., 1929, still holds good, although it would not surprise me if an occasional burin turns up in the earlier phases of the Smithfield Culture, as a Middle Stone Age flavour is, at times, noticeably present.

(4) During our investigations into rock engravings, we paid particular attention to contiguous implement remains, and at Koffiefontein the Abbé discovered what he believes to be the tools that were actually used for rock engraving. This is a noteworthy discovery as it brings to light a new implement and therefore adds to the long list of implements of the Smithfield Culture. The tool is merely an irregular fragment of rock of between two and three inches in maximum diameter, with a considerably bruised and abraded end either roughly trimmed into shape or merely naturally pointed. Experiments in engraving showed these stones to be eminently suitable. Specimens are to be seen in the University collection. The Smithfield "A" tools associated with rock engravings often retain—despite their main Neanthropic characteristics—a marked Middle Stone Age flavour, and would therefore appear to belong to the earliest phases of the main Smithfield Culture.

(5) The Abbé's observations on rock or cave paintings are most illuminating. He believes he has recognised two distinct Periods, each of which is divisible into at least six phases:—

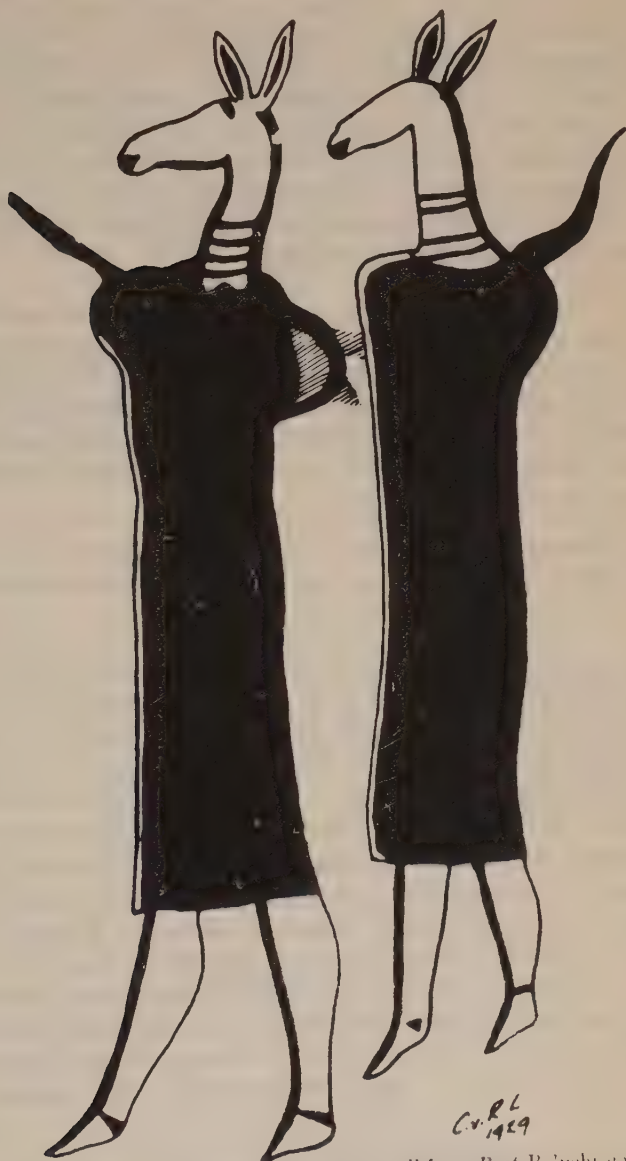
(a) *The Earlier Period* is represented almost exclusively by the pure naturalistic art of a hunting folk. The earlier phases of this Period are represented by studies in monochromes of various colours—the colour-sequence being marked by superposition—and it culminates in a phase of beautiful polychromes. Thus, in the cave that contains the remains of a Smithfield "C" Industry (Site No. 101)<sup>2</sup> on the farm Schaapplaats, district Bethlehem, O.F.S., we have the following sequence of single-colour studies—from the bottom upwards, or old to newer:—

- (i) White (?).
- (ii) Yellow Pale.
- (iii) Black.
- (iv) Red Pale.
- (v) Red Strong.
- (vi) Beautiful Polychromes that include all the colours previously used.

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<sup>2</sup> *Ann. S.A. Mus.*, *op cit.*, p. 206.

The polychromes comprise single-animal studies—mainly eland—but include two groups of extremely interesting masked men—clothed human figures with the heads of animals, as shown in the Text Figure. The group from which these were taken comprises



TEXT FIGURE I.—showing “Masked Men” from Best Polychrome Figure. Traced from the originals on the farm Schaapplaats, district Bethlehem, O.F.S.



heartily endorse, and hope that the name "Christol Cave" will come into universal use. The site, usually referred to as being near Hermon, Basutoland, is classic, and it is a fitting tribute to M. Christol that his name be permanently linked with it.

This second phase reveals to us a degenerating artistic feeling and culminates, as shown in the table above, in figures, (vii) diagrammatic and (viii) without form. The phase (vii) "Black-White : Diagrammatic" division of this later Period has a peculiar interest in that a painting of this phase that is "white" when dry becomes black under moisture, i.e. a "white" figure belonging to this phase may be white when first observed, but when moistened, it immediately turns black—only to become "white" again as it dries. The same does not apply to any of the other whites : Earlier Period (i) and Later Period (iv). An explanation is not offered.

As my readers will no doubt look up the figure in Sollas above referred to, it is as well to draw attention to the fact that the elands in his Fig. 230, p. 432, are truly representative of the "Beautiful Polychromes" that occur at the end of the Earlier Period.

It is also worth mentioning that in both the caves above referred to, paintings of both Periods exist, and that I chose these examples because each contains the best of its type in the area under review.

The results, so briefly outlined above, are obviously of great significance in the study of local prehistoric archaeology, and our debt to 'Abbé Breuil is indeed a great one. His visit has been of inestimable value and those of us whose privilege it was to work with him in the field have benefitted enormously. In addition to our gratitude for help freely and generously given and our admiration for his skill, we shall always, I feel sure, cherish also a more intimate personal feeling of weeks spent in touch with a master and a friend.

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# A NOTE ON PHYLLANTHUS ENGLERI, PAX

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## MUFWEBA-BACHAZI—A NORTHERN RHODESIAN SUICIDE PLANT

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By J. M. WATT and MARIA G. BREYER-BRANDWIJK.

From the Pharmacological Laboratory, University of the  
Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

Our attention has been drawn to this plant by the Attorney-General and several Magistrates of Northern Rhodesia, because it is used for committing suicide, more particularly in the Namwala sub-district.

The common name is *Mufweba-Bachazi*, which means "the smoking of the Bachazi (or of the people of the Bachazi totem)." The people of the Bachazi totem are Ilas and now live in the Namwala sub-district. It is said that they are noted for committing suicide by inhaling the fumes of the plant; and that it was a member of this clan who first committed suicide in this manner; and that this is how the common name originated. Other names are *Mufwewawachanzhi*, *Mulia-Balishina* or *Mulia-Walishina*. *Mulibalishina* means "he eats himself (he commits suicide) by choking."

In order to commit suicide, the Native takes some of the bark of the root, places it in a pipe with hot ashes on top. He takes one long inhalation and dies instantaneously. We have received reports of several inquests where evidence of this nature has been given and where the verdict has been "suicide by smoking the roots of the *Mufweba-bachazi* tree." Smith and Dale <sup>(1)</sup> mention this use of *Mufweba-bachazi*, but did not have the plant identified. They state it is narcotic.

Natives at Namwala state that, if the bark is smoked slowly, inhaling only a little of the smoke, the result is not fatal. Such

slow smoking is said to be used medically, but we do not know for what it is used. The leaves are chewed as a tonic, for indigestion and in constipation. It is thought that the root-bark may be taken by the mouth with impunity and that extracts of it are also non-toxic by the mouth. The fruit and bark of the above-ground parts of the tree are said to be non-toxic, and the former is used by the Ilas as a tooth-brush.

#### *SMOKING EXPERIMENTS WITH ROOT-BARK*

A guinea-pig and a rat, exposed to the fumes and smoke from burning root-bark, do not die. They show no symptoms other than lachrymation, running from the nose and deepening and quickening of the respiration. Similar effects were produced by exposing the animals to the fumes and smoke from burning pine saw-dust.

#### *ALCOHOLIC (70%) EXTRACT OF THE ROOT-BARK*

In view of this negative result, we percolated the powdered air-dried root-bark with 70 per cent. alcohol and distilled off the alcohol under reduced pressure until a dry extract was produced. This is grey in colour and represents 15.86 per cent. of the bark.

#### *ACTION OF THE EXTRACT*

It was noticed in scraping the bark off the roots that it caused great irritation and a burning sensation in any little cuts or abrasions on the skin.

One of the laboratory assistants, while scraping the dry extract from the container, received a tiny particle in one eye. After four hours there developed some irritation of the eye-ball, which five hours later had become a severe inflammation. With hourly bathing the inflammation subsided and disappeared in about 55 hours.

The extract is highly toxic, the minimum lethal dose for the rabbit being:—

intravenously, 0.00032 gm. per kilo: death in  $1\frac{1}{2}$  minutes;  
subcutaneously, 0.0009 gm. per kilo: death in about 50 hours;  
by the stomach, 0.070 gm. per kilo: death in about 40 hours.

*Rabbit: Intravenous Injection.*—During the injection the respiration is quickened and there are convulsions. By the end of the injection the animal has collapsed, the corneal reflex is gone and

the respiration has either ceased or consists of occasional gasps. The heart is markedly slowed. The respiration always stops before the heart does.

*Subcutaneous Injection.*—The animal shows no very marked symptoms during the first 24 hours. Sometimes there is quickening of the respiration and slowing of the heart, which may also be slightly irregular. There is usually loss of appetite. Some time during the second 24 hours, the animal collapses with slow respiration, slow irregular heart and showing occasional mild convulsions, especially on being handled. Ultimately it becomes unconscious with the corneal reflex absent. The respiration becomes progressively slower and weaker and finally ceases. The heart likewise becomes slower and feebler, but is still perceptible when the respiration ceases.

*By the Stomach.*—After a stomach injection, the rabbit does not eat and a few hours later looks unhappy. There is usually during the first 24 hours slight quickening of the respiration and heart. Salivation is sometimes seen. Later the respiration and heart are slowed, the animal becomes slightly unsteady on its legs, and ultimately collapses. It appears still to be conscious and struggles when handled. Occasional convulsions are now seen. The condition becomes gradually worse until the respiration and heart cease.

*Post-mortem:* there is an area of inflammation in the fundus, near the cardiac end of the stomach, with submucous haemorrhages and haemorrhage into the stomach lumen. The stomach is also full of food despite the fact that it has not eaten since the administration of the dose. There is no irritation in the intestine. The heart is stopped in systole.

#### CONSECUTIVE EXTRACTION OF THE ROOT-BARK WITH DIFFERENT SOLVENTS

In view of these interesting results, we carried out a series of consecutive extractions of the root-bark with various solvents. The extraction in each case was carried to the point of exhaustion, which was measured by (1) disappearance of colour from the fluid extract, and (2) no residue on evaporating down a small quantity. With one exception, the fluid extracts were evaporated down to dryness and dried over  $\text{CaCl}_2$ . The results are summarised in the following table:—



Solvent.	Method.	% of Bark.	Colour.	Toxic.	Remarks.
Petroleum Ether	Soxlet	6	Bottom: sl. yellow. Top: yellow	— Stomach	Very sticky: seems to be a mixture of at least two compounds
Ether .. ..	Soxlet	3.21	Brownish-yellow	— Stomach	Fatty to touch
Chloroform ..	Soxlet	0.78	Dark-brown	— Stomach	
Absolute Alcohol	Boiling	7.08	Dark-red	+ Vein Stomach	
Distilled Water	Cold	6.39	Dark brown-red Pale-brown when powdered	+ Vein	
Distilled Water	Boiling	1.81	Brown-red	— Vein	
Acidified Distilled Water	Cold	Not evap. down	Colourless	— Vein	Neutralised before injection

From this it is seen that the absolute alcohol and cold distilled water fractions are toxic.

*Absolute Alcohol Fraction.*—0.00075 gm. per kilo intravenously is fatal to a rabbit, but 0.0005 gm. per kilo is not. The former dose produces death in about 40 hours. Larger doses produce death quicker, until with a dose of 0.035 gm. per kilo the animal collapses immediately and dies in a few minutes' time.

With doses round about the minimum lethal dose, the symptoms during the first 24 hours consist of loss of appetite, marked quickening of the heart and slight slowing of the respiration. The heart tends to be slightly irregular and the respiration forced. The animal is quiet. In 24 hours, the respiration is slowed considerably and the movements remain forced. The heart is now slower than normal and is still irregular. In 36 hours, the animal is unable to stand but is conscious. *Post-mortem*: The heart shows the left ventricle in systole and the right in diastole. There is some congestion of the lungs and liver.

*Cold Water Fraction.*—0.0025 gm. per kilo intravenously is fatal to a rabbit, but 0.001 gm. per kilo is not. The former dose produces death in about 16 hours. Larger doses produce death in somewhat shorter time, but not nearly so rapidly as with the absolute alcohol fraction, and there is no collapse immediately after the injection. The minimum lethal dose produces very marked quickening of the heart and respiration which lasts for several hours. Later the heart is slowed and becomes irregular. *Post-mortem*: the heart is usually found in the diastolic position, but sometimes the left ventricle is in partial systole. The liver and lungs are markedly congested.

The cold water fraction re-dissolves in water and gives a nearly clear solution. On shaking much foam is formed; the solution is neutral to litmus and no proteins could be identified in it. With a view to precipitating possible toxalbumins, solutions were treated with alcohol, sodium chloride, magnesium sulphate and sodium sulphate. Alcohol, only, gave a precipitate which was non-toxic.

#### EFFECTS ON BLOOD

Tested with 1% defibrinated rabbit's blood in normal saline, suspension of the original 70% alcoholic extract in normal saline and the filtrate from this, gave a thick precipitate which remained on dilution with water, while the control was lysed by the addition of water.

Tested on undiluted defibrinated rabbit's blood, solutions in saline of the absolute alcohol fraction, the cold water fraction, the hot water fraction and cold water extract of the bark direct, all after filtration, produce no effect.

#### TANNIN

A watery extract of the root-bark is negative to tests for tannin.

#### HYDROCYANIC ACID

The root-bark is negative to tests for free hydrocyanic acid or cyanogenetic glucosides.

#### SUMMARY

1. The fumes and smoke from burning the root bark of *Phyllanthus engleri*, Pax. are non-toxic on inhalation by the guinea-pig and rat.

2. A dry alconolic (70%) extract of the root-bark is highly toxic to rabbits orally, subcutaneously and intravenously, producing a marked depression of the respiration and heart.

3. The absolute alcohol and cold water fractions, in serial extraction of the root-bark by different solvents, are both highly toxic to rabbits when given intravenously. The absolute alcohol fraction is more toxic than the cold water.

4. We have not yet been able to isolate the active principles.

5. The root-bark does not yield HCN and is tannin free.

Further investigation of the root-bark will be carried out when more material and time are available.

#### REFERENCE.

1. Edwin W. Smith and A. Murray Dale: *The Ila-Speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia*, 1920, 1, 229, 421.

## THE IN-TONJANE CEREMONY AS OBSERVED IN FINGOLAND

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By FRANK BROWNLEE, Resident Magistrate Kokstad.

As is generally known, the custom of *in-Tojane* is one according to which girls reaching the age of puberty are required to undergo a period of seclusion lasting from three to four months.

The term *in-Tonjane* is derived from the word *ukutomba*, the meaning of which is given by Kropf as "to put forth shoots, to sprout, to bud; of a girl, to menstruate for the first time." The budding of the young girl's breasts, coupled with menstruation, indicate fruitfulness and are a sign for great rejoicing.

*In-Tonjane* is also the "name of a larval insect which encases itself in a tube made of pieces of grass and lives among the grass" (Kropf). The girl during her period of seclusion is kept in a portion of a hut which is cut off from the rest of the building by a screen of grass—she is encased in grass as is the insect, which at the slightest alarm withdraws itself into its shield—so in a sense is it with the girl.

During the time of her seclusion the girl is supervised by the sisters of her grandfather, who would be elderly women and people of experience. If no such people are available, the sisters of the father of the girl would exercise the necessary supervision. Failing all these, other female relatives of the father might undertake the responsibilities—all relatives on the mother's side are at this time *tabu*, as are the girl's own father and mother, who may on no account enter the hut of seclusion or in any way otherwise come in contact with their daughter.

The *in-Tonjane* may on no account whatsoever leave the hut during the daytime. Should it so happen that natural purposes make very great call, a vessel is provided for the purpose, and this is removed and emptied by those in attendance.



As has been stated, the custom is or should be observed at the time when the girl reaches the age of puberty, but it is often undergone at a much later stage.

It is imperative that the custom be observed before marriage. If by any chance the girl's father has failed to see that the rite is observed, he is held responsible for any misfortune which may befall the girl after her marriage.

The ashes from the fire place in the hut of seclusion are allowed to accumulate and are not removed till after the period has been completed, when they are taken and scattered in the wind. At the same time the grass screen and the mats that have been used by the *in-Tonjane* are burnt.

In an *in-Tonjane* hut that I visited I found the floor strewn with rushes and grass. Upon enquiry I was told that these had been placed there so that those in attendance upon the girl might sleep comfortably. I am satisfied that there is some deeper significance attached to this strewing of grass, but I have not up to the present been able to discover it. The grass and rushes are burnt after the hut is vacated. I rather think that the floor used originally to be covered with rush mats, which would require to be burnt, but in these days when mat rushes have become very scarce people cannot afford to have mats burned wholesale, so the floor is strewn with such grass and rushes as may be obtainable.

During the whole period of her isolation the girl is addressed as "*in-Tonjane*," her own name is never used.

While undergoing seclusion, the girl is examined by her father's elderly female relatives, who guarantee her virginity, which to them amounts to the fact that she has not had a child and that she is not pregnant. I have been informed that at one stage the girl's hymen is perforated by means of an ox horn, and that the same instrument is used for extending the *labia majora*, the idea being, by this means to make intercourse more pleasurable and fruitfulness more certain. I am at present unable to vouch for the accuracy of this information.

On a day arranged, to mark the termination of the period of seclusion, the friends and relatives of the girl and her parents assemble at the kraal concerned. With singing, dancing and signs of rejoicing, the girl is escorted to the *inkundla*—the open space in front of the huts—where the singing and dancing continues indefinitely.

A beast is slaughtered (as propitiation to the spirits of the ancestors of the family). The blood of this beast is sprinkled on the left-hand gate-post of the entrance of the cattle kraal. This may be any beast and is not selected from *ubulunga* or other sacred cattle. A goat is also slaughtered—any goat—and at one stage of the proceedings the gall of this goat is poured over the head of the *in-Tonjane* by one of her father's elderly female relatives, and here the initiation into womanhood is completed, though dancing and "rejoicing" may still continue for a day or two.

All the young girls of the neighbourhood dressed in their showiest beads and blankets gather at the kraal. The girls while dancing are naked down to the waist, and sometimes have nothing on except a small *Nciyo* which barely conceals the private parts. At one stage they dance before the older men, who criticise either favourably or otherwise the appearance of the girls, their remarks being decidedly candid and more than verging on the ribald. The *in-Tonjane* does not take part in the dances.

After this the girls move off to the neighbourhood of the *in-Tonjane* hut, where the older women and young men join them in the dance. The men are quite naked except for a *Ngxiba* (penis cap), which covers the *glans penis* only. While wearing this a man is considered to be dressed sufficiently to comply with all demands of decency.

The period of the celebrations is usually measured by the quantity of beer provided. As the beer diminishes so do the well-wishers dwindle away, and it is only the hardest who remain to drink of the *intsipo* (dregs).

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# EUROPEAN AND OTHER INFLUENCES IN SOTHO

By N. J. v. WARMELO

1. Sotho, the main Bantu language of the Transvaal, has been considerably influenced by the other languages spoken in South Africa, notably by Afrikaans and English. This can be seen in the first place from the large number of loan-words now in use. Of these, many denote things hitherto unknown, while not a few others are often merely used instead of the native idiom. Besides loan-words, there are also a number of expressions and turns of speech, which, by their strangeness, proclaim themselves as too literal translations from some European language. However, most of the latter have not yet met with general acceptance, they are curiosities, interesting only as symptoms of what is going on. Of the loan-words, on the other hand, a large majority are to-day widely used in one form only, and as such are undoubtedly worth knowing. Thus the name for a train is *setimêla*, a word originally derived from English. Any other word will not just do as well . . . to all intents and purposes this word is good modern Sotho for "train," and whosoever does not use it betrays his ignorance of the language. So also a "brick" is not *lefsika* (stone) or \**boriki* or the like. The accepted name being *setene* (from Afrikaans) we must use it, to be understood. These and many other words now form an integral part of Sotho vocabulary, and for this reason I have thought it worth while examining them more closely.

2. In the following, I therefore propose to consider a number of Pedi loan-words, selected from my larger collection of all the words I have heard used at one time or another in this dialect. Whether they are thus used in all parts where Sotho is spoken I cannot say, but it seems very probable that variations, other than those given, will be met with. I give a selection only because many foreign words, though quite widely used, have not been assimilated—"digested," so to say—and do not merit our attention. A few examples from other vernaculars of the Union have proved useful to my purpose and are included accordingly.<sup>1</sup> For some material and for light on various points, I have to thank my friends the Rev. P. Schweltnus, Mr. G. P. Lestrade and Rev. J. Trümpelmann, of Wallmannsthal.

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<sup>1</sup> For foreign words in Xosa, see Bud Mbelle, *Kafir Scholar's Companion*, Lovedale 1903.



3. The phenomenon of loan-words in the native languages of South Africa seems to me one worthy of our notice. It is inevitable that the close contact with European life and thought possible in this country must, in course of time, corrupt the vernaculars to a considerable degree, at least, insofar as they do not meet the requirements of the present age, which are clearness, conciseness, specialisation. Half of their undoubtedly rich vocabulary consists of terms and distinctions which are becoming unnecessary, and which will be scrapped. On the other hand, they lack thousands of words in everyday use throughout the modern world. What can the natives do but take them as they find them? Already the number of foreign words used daily by the natives in the towns is simply staggering. I wish to emphasise, though, that many of these are only used jocularly or out of a desire to say something striking and out-of-the-way. But many others have come to stay, and, in spite of any puristic movement to clear the language, such as has already been set on foot, will remain in use for many years to come. The etymology of a number of these words will then in many cases remain obscure, if it is not cleared up now, while we still can trace it. Even to-day the derivation of imported forms often remains a puzzle.

4. The orthography adopted for Sotho is the current one. Note that

*b* is bilabial *v*,

*g* is the voiced or voiceless velar fricative,

*ts* lenis

*ths* fortis,

*c* lenis,

*ch* fortis,

*ng* is velar *n*,

*e*, *o* are close, *ē*, *ō* are open.

For typographical reasons we have to give words from other languages in the spelling current there, so that there is no uniform orthography in this essay. In Venda, note therefore that :

*vh*, *fh* are bilabial *v*, *f*,

*zw*, *sw* are labioalveolar *z*, *s*.

The Afrikaans and English words from which loan-words are derived are also given in the usual spelling, a knowledge of how they are pronounced being therefore assumed in the reader.

## 5. SOURCES

Sotho has borrowed most from Afrikaans, which is the European language it has longest been in contact with. Moreover, the natives

usually work on farms, where they hear Afrikaans, before going to the towns. Even English words may thus get into the native language through the medium of Afrikaans, e.g., *kepisi* < Afr. *keps* < Eng. "cap." Note also such common words as *polasa* "farm," *torónkong* "in prison," *toropong* "in town," *-bêréka* "work," which are all from Afrikaans.

6. Town life and contact with English-speaking people has introduced a considerable number of words, among others *nyuwane* (new one) "anything still new," *pafu* "bath," *-aina* "to iron."

7. In the Sotho of Basutoland at least one word of French origin has been adopted, viz. *leshapo* (le chapeau) "hat." The teaching of the French missionaries seems to have affected the language—of the younger generation, at least—to a certain extent, since it is said that they pronounce *-rata* "love" as *-gata* "tread" (with velar fricative), *bararo* "three" as *bagago*, and so on. Nor does it seem impossible that the corrective influences of home, etc., should in some cases be outweighed by those of the school, where the children naturally tend to imitate the pronunciation of their teachers.

8. From the Zulu language a few words have also been borrowed, since the mines have brought many thousands of Sotho and Zulus into close contact. Thus note, for instance: *-beta* < Z. *-betha* "strike," *lepókólê* < Z. *imbongolo* "donkey," *kókókó* < Z. *igogogo* "paraffin tin." Moreover, several European words have been adopted in Sotho after assuming a Zulu garb, e.g. *setimêla* < Z. *isithimela* < Eng. "steamer," *setóló* < Z. *isitholo* < Eng. "store," *pólómêlê* < Z. *ipholomete* < Eng. "permit."

9. Sometimes attendant circumstances have given rise to a name, e.g. *gauteng*, i.e. "at the gold" (Afr. goud) and *maineng* "at the mines," which are occasionally used for Johannesburg. *lefokisi* "detective" is thought to be connected with Fox Street, in Johannesburg, but I have not been able to find any proof. Without some special information, however, one often is at a loss to explain the derivation of a word. Such is the case, for instance, with Xosa *isema* "a Cape Mounted Rifleman" from the abbreviation C.M.R.

10. The Sotho have not proved themselves as clever at coining names for things new to them as have the Zulus, for instance. I only know of *tututu*, a practically inevitable name for a motor-cycle, and *lethopo* "garden hose," the etymology of which is still a mystery.

The *malaita* (sing. *lelaita*)<sup>2</sup> "hooligans," found in large towns, have the rudiments of an own "jargon" already. It is difficult to find out these terms, but *chôfôlô*<sup>3</sup> or *chôbôlô*, for instance, is used for a harsh or bad European householder, at all events one who has not the honour of the *malaita*'s esteem. *bakgatla*, a tribal designation, they use for dissolute women in general, since the Bakgatla appear to be the most numerous in the towns.

2. Derivation uncertain, but cf. § 29.

3. Whether this is the same word as *chôfôlô* from "shovel," I cannot say.

## THE PHONOLOGY OF LOAN-WORDS

### CONSONANTS

11. A word may be taken over without undergoing any change, if it already conforms to the laws of Sotho phonology. If it does not, a change is necessary. The interesting point to be noticed, however, is that here, as in all languages, changes are sometimes made which appear to us strange and unnecessary. Thus, in Arabic, ordinary consonants sometimes change into the so-called "emphatic" consonants in borrowed words, even though such emphatic sounds do not occur in the language borrowed from, e.g. emphatic *s* and *t* in *sirât* "road" (Latin *strata* sc. *via*.). Thus we find in Sotho, for instance, that "candle" > *lekgantlêla*. Afr. *broek* > *borokgo* "trousers."

Or again, Afr. *verneuk* > *foronyoga* "deceive."

Afr. *broek* > *\*borogo*, in pl. *marogo* "trousers."

Cf. also in Venda *-swogola* < Afr. *sukkel* "do with difficulty" and *tshimau<sup>swu</sup>* < Afr. *smous* "travelling merchant," where ordinary *s* has changed to labioalveolar *sw*, though *s* does occur in Venda.

Since *d* does not occur in Sotho, Afr. *dorp* must become *toropo* "town," and Afr. *duur* "dear" > *-tura* "be dear." Here *du* is not changed to *lu*, whereas on the other hand Afr. *polies* "policeman" becomes *lepholisa*, a sound peculiar to Sotho (*li*) thus taking the place of an ordinary alveolar *d*.

*v* > *b* (bilabial *v*), for instance in *lebénkêlê* and *-bêrêka* from Afr. *winkel* "shop" and *werk* "work," but *b* > *p* in *lepôkisi* "box," *lepantiti* "convict" < Afr. *bandiet*.

As a rule, it will be found that changes in such consonants as *k*, *t*, *p* are only made where necessary, that is, for grammatical reasons. E.g. not in *pôsô* < Afr. *pos* "post," *pampiri* < Afr. *pampier* "paper."

12. On the other hand, loan-words are always changed when they have not already got the morphology prescribed by grammar. As such, these forms are very instructive, shewing as they do the extent to which phonetic laws are still alive in the consciousness of the speakers.

Thus, for instance, "bath" and "book" (Afr. *boek*) become *pafu*, *puku*, because nouns in cl. 9 cannot in Sotho have an initial *b*, whereas, on the other hand, we do find *leburu* < Afr. *Boer*, *lebôtlélô* "bottle." So also Afr. *geld* "money" (sometimes pronounced *sjelt*) becomes in Sotho *chalete*, because neither *sh*, nor the lenis *c* occur as initial sounds in cl. 9, but only the aspirate fortis *ch*. The same is the case with *chefe* "poison" < Afr. *gif*, sometimes pronounced *sjif*. Because *l* cannot be the initial in cl. 9, Afr. *lemoen* "orange" becomes *namune*.

#### VOWELS

13. The vowels of foreign words must, of course, also conform to the phonetic pattern of the language. The first point to notice is that, according to the Bantu rule, syllables must end in a vowel, and that the juxta-position of consonants (except with nasals) is not tolerated, e.g. "stamp" > *setempe*, Afr. *kerk* > *kêrêkê* "church."

Our interest naturally centres in the question: If a vowel is going to be inserted or suffixed, which one is it going to be, and why.

14. We may observe, in the first place, assimilation to a neighbouring vowel, e.g.:

*polasa* < Afr. *plaas* "farm," *mara* < Afr. *maar* "but."  
*setene* < Afr. *steen* "brick," *-bereka* < Afr. *werk* "work."  
*pampiri* < Afr. *pampier* "paper," *pôkisi* "box."  
*pôsô* < Afr. *pos* "post," *tôrôpô* < Afr. *dorp* "town."  
*leburu* < Afr. *Boer*, *ampuru* < Afr. *amper* "nearly."

15. But we also find that vowels different to the neighbouring ones are added. It seems that names for tribes or for certain categories of people take the suffix *-a* by preference; perhaps analogy with already existing forms has something to do with it. At all events, even Zulu is changed to *matsula* "the Zulus," and the suffix *-a* is also found in such examples as:—

<i>lejuta</i> < Afr. <i>jood</i> "Jew"	<i>lekula</i> < <i>coolie</i> "Indian"
<i>lechaina</i> "Chinaman"	<i>letaleana</i> "Italian"



*lephôlisa* "policeman"  
*lekgôba* "Cape coloured"  
 (deriv. uncertain)

*lelaila* "hooligan" (deriv. un-  
 certain, cf. § 29)

16. For the following examples of dissimilation I can offer no explanation:—

*moneri* < Afr. *meneer* "missionary," *polasa* < Afr. *plaas* "farm,"  
*taramu* < Afr. *darem* "yet," *chalêlê* alternative for *chêlêlê* < Afr. *geld*  
 "money," *kômponi* "compound" is probably taken as a locative  
 in Zulu, whence it has then come into Sotho.

In *pôlasa* < Afr. *plaas* "farm," *pôlane* < Afr. *plan* "plan, strata-  
 gem," *pôrane* < "brandy," the epenthetic vowel seems to have been  
 chosen in assimilation to the preceding bilabial consonant.

17. Vowels are, of course, also altered and inserted to meet the demands  
 of morphology, e.g., to form prefixes: *sebara* < Afr. *swaer* "brother-  
 in-law, friend," *setôlô* "store."

#### OTHER CHANGES IN LOAN-WORDS

18. The original form of words, which prove unacceptable to the native  
 mind, may be changed by the excision or addition of sounds and  
 syllables.

When shortening takes place, we find that sounds are lost:

(a) At the beginning of words and especially *s* before *k*, *t*, *p*:

-*kôrôpa* < Afr. *skrop* "scrub"      -*tampa* < Afr. *stamp* "crush"  
 -*kafa* < Afr. *skaaf* "plane off"      -*pana* < Afr. (in)*span* "inspan"  
 -*poula* < "spoil"

*setêrêkê* < Afr. *distrik* "district"

*sepatlêla*, *s(e)petala* < "hospital"

19. (b) In the middle:

*fastere* < Afr. *venster* "window"

*leismane* < Afr. *Engelsman* "Englishman"

*leôlanere* < Afr. "Hollander"

-*henera* < Afr. *hinder* "worry, embarrass"

*masepala* < "municipality"

20. (c) At the end:

*kômponi* < "compound." The second part of a word is lost  
 in *selaga* < Afr. *slagyster* "trap."

21. Other loan-words again receive additions, apart from the epenthetic vowels already mentioned.

(a) Prefixes are supplied in very many cases—

*lebôtlélô* "bottle"

*lepanta* < Afr. *band* "belt"

*lejuta* < Afr. *jood* "Jew"

The reason why this is done is often obscure, but cf. § 29.

22. (b) For the intrusion of a sound into the body of a word, which is not a common occurrence, note the examples *sepênsihêlê* "special" (sc. pass), *têrêmpê* "tram."

23. (c) Suffixes are added mostly for grammatical reasons, e.g. the locative -eng: *taimaneng* from "diamond," a common name for Kimberley.

#### 24. CHANGE OF MEANING

The original meaning of borrowed words occasionally changes somewhat. *agêntê* < Afr. *agent* "any kind of agent or broker" now is mostly used for an attorney or legal agent only. *kantôró* < Afr. *kantoor* "office" is the Native Affairs Department or some Government office.

25. Adjectives in Afrikaans or English are not used as such in Sotho, but become nouns, e.g. *selêgê* (Afr. *sleg* "bad") "a person bad in any of the senses of the English word," *lepara* (Afr. *baar* "raw, rustic") means "raw native, fool," *nyuwane* ("new one") "anything still new." *shoti* "short trousers, shorts."

Adjectives may also become verbs, e.g. -*kwata* (Afr. *kwaad*, adj. "angry") "be angry," -*fusa* (Afr. *vas* "fast") "make fast". *go fasa koloi ka boriki* "to apply the brake of a wagon." *ke latecwe* "I am late" applic. perf. pass. of -*lata* from Afr. *laat* "late."

26. Sometimes there is a misunderstanding of the European construction. Thus in Transvaal Ndebele I have heard -*jaxeda* (Afr. *jaag uit* "drive out") used for instance in *izinkomo ziyajaxeda* "the cattle are coming out of the kraal," and -*komara* (Afr. *kom maar* "come now, then") in *izinkomo ziyakomara* "the cattle are returning home (in the evening)." In Sotho -*pasôpa* (Afr. *pas op!* imperat. "take care, mind!") means "to take care of, mind." *mokôlô* "medium-sized tin" seems to be derived from gallon (-tin). -*poula* from English "spoil" has all the meanings of -*sênya*, as to spoil

things, but also, for instance *ba mo pouce, ga ke sa mo rate* ("they have spoiled her (a girl) etc.") In the second place, it means to be spoilt as to one's clothes, i.e. to be in rags, thus *ke pouce* "I am badly dressed."

In Zulu there also are such instances of confusion, for instance, the Afrikaans forms of greeting *môre* "morning," *goeinaand* "good evening" having become *molo* and *xonanta*, when addressed to several persons, take the plural *molweni*, *xonanteni*. In Thonga I find *-kerefa* "address a letter to the care of someone," while in Xosa *-kerisha* is used with the same meaning.

## GRAMMATICAL TREATMENT OF LOAN-WORDS

### NOUNS

27. Prefixes, which all Sotho nouns must have, are sought for in the original word, e.g. :

cl. 1 *moneri* < Afr. *meneer* "missionary."

cl. 7 *sefepi* < Afr. *sweep* "whip."

*senotlêlo* < Afr. *sleutel* "key."

cl. 14 *boróthó* < Afr. *brood* "bread."

28. When the word denotes an object and can conveniently be put into cl. 9, no prefix is needed, but the nearest correct sound required by phonology becomes the initial, e.g. *pafu* "bath," *pasa* "pass," *kalse* "cat."

29. In all other cases a prefix is supplied. There seems to be a marked preference for cl. 5 in the case of words denoting tribes, vocations or other categories of men :

*leburu* "Boer "

*leismane* "Englishman "

*leðlanêrê* "Hollander "

*lekula* (*coolie*) "Indian "

*lejuta* (Afr. *jood*) "Jew "

*lechaina* "Chinaman "

*lethôsa* "Xosa "

*letsula* "Zulu "

*lekwapa* (*Gwamba*) "Shangaan " *lepolantane* (*Blantyre*) "native

*lekhiphi* "Cape boy "

from far North "

*lejakane* (Afr. *diaken*) "convert" *lepasitêrê* (Afr. *basterd*) "Cape boy"

*lephôlisa* "policeman "

*lejoni* (Johnnie or join) "soldier "

*lepantiti* (Afr. *bandiet*) "convict" *lefókisi* "detective "

*lepara* "raw native "

The same prefix is also met with in *lekgōa* "European," for which I can only suggest the derivation *Goa* (from contact with the Portuguese, c.f. Algoa Bay, Delagoa Bay. The Transvaal Ndebele say *ikhuwa* cl. 5, those of Rhodesia *ikhiwa*. For *lelaita* probably from Zulu *ilaita* "hooligan," I suspect some connection with "light," perhaps "somebody who still prowls about after daylight, after lights-out has been sounded, after the lights have been put on," or something of the sort.

30. There does not seem to be a single loan-word with the prefix *mo-*, cl. 1, excepting *moneri*, already mentioned, where it could hardly have been otherwise. The word "boy," too, sometimes *lepoi* but as often *mpoi*, always has the plural *ma-*. Such consistent preference for cl. 5 and avoidance of cl. 1 must have a reason. This seems to be that cl. 1 mainly denotes personal nouns-agent, i.e. deverbal nouns, and cannot therefore include tribal and vocational designations and the like, whereas the collective sense of cl. 6 makes it, and its singular cl. 5, the most suitable in this respect.

31. From loan-words other forms can be derived, which is also instructive :

The prefixes, whether forming part of the original word or not, naturally change in the plural, e.g.

*sepēnshêlê* pl. *lipēnshêlê* "special"    *setēmpê* pl. *litēmpê* "stamp"  
*sekarêlê* pl. *likarêlê* "cigarette".

Afr. *broek* "trousers" first became \**borogo*, but the plural seeming more correct in Sotho, as in English, we now hear *marogo* used, besides the variant *borokgo*. Further, such nouns as *seburu*, *seismane*, *sepolantane*, *sekula* (indicating the language or the customs) naturally were soon formed from *lekula* "Boer," *leismane* "Englishman," *lepolantane* "Blantyre boy" *leburu* (coolie) "Indian," etc. Note Thonga *shineri* (from *muneri* "missionary") which means Thonga as spoken by the missionary. In Venda *muneri* "missionary" has a derogative form *kuneri*, formed by means of the prefix *ku-*. Afr. *makou* "muscovy duck" was taken to be a plural, whence the singular form *ligau* is now used.

32. From *lefaya* (Afr. *vy*) "fig" is formed \**mo-faya* "fig-tree," which becomes, strictly according to the Sotho rule, *mphaya* (cf. *mphagô* < *mo-fagô*, pl. *me-fagô* "provisions for the road"). From *bêrêka* (Afr. *werk*) "work" is formed the noun *mmêrêkô* 3, as well as *pêrêko* 9



"work." In the same class I also find *mmili* pl. *mebili* "mealies," and *mmoula* pl. *meboula* (Afr. *muil*) "mule." Note especially in Venda the augmentative (with apparent palatalisation<sup>4</sup>) *dzigi* "great dying of cattle" < *sigi* < Afr. *siekte* "sickness," cf. *korosigi* "fever" from Afr. *koors-siekte* (i.e. fever-sickness).

## VERBS

33. These naturally are all made to end in *-a*. They afford examples of many of the phonetic changes already mentioned. Exactly why these verbs should have found acceptance, is in most cases difficult to see, since they nearly all have their equivalents in Sotho. They are, of course, all very frequently used in the languages borrowed from. Those given below are much used by the natives :

- |                                                                                 |                                                            |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------|
| - <i>aina</i> "to iron"                                                         | - <i>chipa</i> (in the perf.) "be cheap"                   |
| - <i>foronyoka</i> and <i>foronyoga</i> (Afr. <i>verneuk</i> ) "deceive, cheat" | - <i>kwáta</i> (Afr. <i>kwaad</i> adj. "angry") "be angry" |
| - <i>kerea</i> (Afr. <i>kry</i> ) "get"                                         | - <i>pasopa</i> (Afr. <i>pas op</i> ) "look after"         |
| - <i>patêla</i> (Afr. <i>betaal</i> ) "pay"                                     | - <i>tura</i> (Afr. <i>duur</i> adj. "dear") "be dear"     |
| - <i>sókôla</i> (Afr. <i>sukkel</i> ) "do with difficulty"                      | - <i>kafa</i> (Afr. <i>skaaf</i> ) "plane off"             |
| - <i>bêrêka</i> (Afr. <i>werk</i> ) "work"                                      | - <i>kolomaka</i> (Afr. <i>skoon maak</i> ) "clean"        |
| - <i>kêla</i> (Afr. <i>skil</i> ) "peel"                                        | - <i>pana</i> (Afr. <i>s<sup>h</sup>pan</i> ) "inspan"     |
| - <i>tampa</i> (Afr. <i>stamp</i> ) "crush"                                     | - <i>poula</i> "spoil"                                     |

## 34. Denominative verbs occur, e.g.

- kôlôta* (< *sekôlôlô* Afr. *skuld* "debt") "be in debt, owe."
- terafa* (< *seterafô* Afr. *straf* "punishment") "punish."
- poka* (< *sepoko* Afr. *spook* "ghost") "to go about as a ghost,"  
*goa poka teng* "that place is haunted."
- laita* (< *lelaita* "hooligan," cf. § 29) "go about at night as the *malaita* do."
- tarata* (< *setarata* < Afr. *straat* "street") "walk about in the streets."

Cf. also the following in Venda :

- gula* "cheat" from *ligula* (< *coolie*) "Indian."
- morodza* "to say *moro* (Afr. *môre*, morning) to" i.e. "salute, greet."
- loḡela* (< *tshiloḡelo* < Afr. *sleutel* "key") "lock."

<sup>4</sup> For "palatalisation" in Bantu see Eiselen's essay in the *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenensprachen*. Hamburg, vol. XIV. 1923.

## 35. Further derivatives are also met with :—

- bérékisha* causative of -*bereka* (Afr. *werk*) “work.”
- patélisha* causative of -*patêla* (Afr. *betaal*) “pay.”
- kurufolla* “screw out” inversive of -*kurufela* (< *skurufu* < Afr. *skroef* “screw”) “screw in”
- panolla* “outspan” inversive of -*pana* (Afr. *span*) “inspan.”
- pouloga* inversive neuter passive from -*poula* “spoil,” meaning “to come out of the condition indicated by -*poula*,” thus for instance, *ke poulogile*, “I have emerged from the state of being dressed in rags, i.e. I am now well dressed.”
- notlolla* “unlock” inversive of -*notlêla* (< *senotlelo* < Afr. *sleutel* “key”) “lock.”

## VARIOUS FORMS, CONJUCTIONS, &amp;c.

36. Sotho having no special word for “why?” the Afrikaans *hoekom* is, in consequence, very widely in use, in the form *ukomo*, *ikomo*. In the negative it is, of course, followed by the dependent, e.g. *ukomo o sa tsebe* “Why don’t you know?” *mara* (Afr. *maar* “but”) is equally common, also in the phrase *mara taramu* (Afr. *maar darem*) “but yet.” *ampuru* (Afr. *amper*) “nearly” is used, not as an adverb, but as if it meant “it is nearly that,” e.g. *ampuru ka mmolaya* “I nearly killed him,” *ampuru ke be ke sa tséne* “I nearly did not get in.” Note also the following: *ga ke mo rate ni* “I don’t like him,” *gase nna ni* “it is not I.” The *ni* here is simply the double negative *nie* of Afrikaans. Finally, one hears sometimes *kea rata setêrék* “I like very much” (Afr. *sterk* “strong”), *sólanka ke sa béréka* “as long as I am still at work” (Afr. *so lank* “as long as”). *Oa se tseba Sesotho, mara ge ke bolêla tipi, o ka se nkwe.* “You know Sesotho, but if I speak deeply (Afr. *diep* “deep,” i.e. in technical language, in slang, in half-allusions), you will not understand me.”

## TRANSLATION OF FOREIGN IDIOM.

37. In the papers one may sometimes come across an expression like *wa bolêla golima taba e*, a translation of “he spoke on this subject.” However, such things are not likely to be generally accepted, because greater average familiarity with the foreign language is required for that than is yet met with nowadays. We may say the same of the following, which, it is told, was heard in court one day. The magis-

trate said, "If this happens again, I shall have to run you in," which the interpreter promptly turned into *ge o ka boëla o rialo, morêna o tla go kitimela gare*. A very literal translation, no doubt.

The Afrikaans expression *dit gaat swak* "things are not going too well" (in answer to the question "how do you do?") one finds again in *oa gata sebaka* "he is doing poorly" or *ke sa gata sebaka* "I am still managing to get along." This is pure Sotho (*-gata* "tread," *sebaka*, "time, occasion") and though not devoid of meaning, is quite devoid of sense. The English "kills me quick" has become *sekilemakwiki*, a generic name for bad kinds of liquor.

#### NEW WORDS, NEW USE OF OLD TERMS.

38. As we have seen (§10), there are few new words that have been coined by the Sotho themselves. *lethopo* "garden hose" seems to be one of them, *koloi* "wagon" is perhaps another, but cf. Z. *inqola*, Thonga *golonyi*.

39. Already existing Sotho words have in several instances been used for objects brought into the country by the Europeans, e.g. *kêfa*, *kuwane*, *mongatsi* ("fur cap") for 'hat,' *seêta* ("sandal") for "shoe, boot," *likobo* ("apparel, kaross") for European dress, *lekgêswa* ("loin-skin") occasionally for "trousers," *pitsi* ("Zebra") in the West for "horse," in Venda *mbidi*.

40. There are also but few cases in which good Sotho names have been formed by derivation, but cf. *moruti* "teacher, missionary" from *-ruta*, *seipônê* "mirror" from *-ipôna* "see oneself," *seswanchô* "picture, photograph" from *-swancha* causative of *-swana* "resemble."

41. The influence of the Mission has caused some new words to be formed, e.g. *-kolobeca* "baptise." At one time difficulties in the way of translation of new terms were conveniently got over by the use of Greek or Latin words in Sotho form. Thus we still find *lengeloi* "angel" from Gr. *angelos*, and sometimes also *-bapatisa* "baptise."

42. We append a list of the words already mentioned, to serve as an index, and have included several other words not dealt with in the text. It cannot be emphasised enough that these loan-words are not all in general use; that, on the contrary, very many are used only to attract attention in some way or other. Naturally, those

terms which have no equivalent in Sotho must be used, but with the others such is not the case. Moreover, our list does not pretend to be complete in any way, since it does not include a number of terms which are in daily use, but which too much resemble the original European form, such as *huku* (Afr. *hoek*) "corner" or *kuranta* (Afr. *koerant*) "newspaper." These and similar terms have little interest for us.

The sign † in the following list denotes words the origin of which is still obscure, and I hope that others will find themselves sufficiently interested to attempt a solution of these problems.

The numbers refer to the paragraphs. Words without such a reference have not been mentioned in the text.

- |                                                               |                                                                                                             |
|---------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>afu</i> "half," espec. in <i>ke afu</i> "it is half past." | <i>chôfôlô</i> II (10, note).                                                                               |
| <i>agêntê</i> (24).                                           | <i>dzigi</i> (Venda) (32).                                                                                  |
| <i>-aina</i> (6, 33).                                         | <i>-fakasha</i> from Zulu <i>-vagasha</i> "stroll about."                                                   |
| <i>amporo</i> or                                              | <i>-fasa</i> (25).                                                                                          |
| <i>ampuru</i> (14, 36).                                       | <i>fasikôtô</i> Afr. <i>voorskoot</i> "apron."                                                              |
| <i>-bapatisa</i> (41).                                        | <i>fastêrê</i> (19).                                                                                        |
| <i>-bêréka</i> (5, 11, 14, 32, 33, 35).                       | <i>-fêrêfa</i> Afr. <i>vryf</i> "rub, polish."                                                              |
| <i>-bêrékisha</i> (35).                                       | <i>-foronyaka</i> (33).                                                                                     |
| <i>-béta</i> (8).                                             | <i>-foronyoga</i> (11, 33).                                                                                 |
| <i>bibêlê</i> "Bible"                                         | <i>-foronyoka</i> , same as above.                                                                          |
| <i>bolêkê</i> (< Afr. <i>blik</i> "tin")                      | <i>fôshôlô</i> from Zulu <i>iposholo</i> <                                                                  |
| "milking pail."                                               | "shovel," with transposition of consonants.                                                                 |
| <i>bolêkiana</i> dim. of <i>bolêkê</i> .                      | <i>garafu</i> Afr. <i>graaf</i> "spade."                                                                    |
| <i>borifi</i> Afr. <i>brief</i> "letter."                     | <i>gata</i> (37).                                                                                           |
| <i>boriki</i> (25)                                            | <i>gauswu</i> (Venda) Afr. <i>kous</i> "sock," cf. Sotho <i>kaushu</i> .                                    |
| <i>borokgo</i> (11, 31).                                      | <i>gauteng</i> (9).                                                                                         |
| <i>borôthô</i> (27).                                          | <i>giriwhane</i> (Venda) Afr. <i>kruiswaen</i> , <i>kriewaen</i> "wheelbarrow," cf. Sotho <i>kiribane</i> . |
| <i>borufi</i> same as <i>borifi</i> .                         | <i>xonanta</i> (-eni) Zulu (26).                                                                            |
| <i>burani</i> (Venda) "brandy."                               | <i>gôrômêntê</i> Afr. <i>goevernement</i> "government."                                                     |
| <i>chalêtê</i> (12, 16).                                      | <i>-gula</i> (Venda) (34).                                                                                  |
| <i>chachê</i> < church "High Church".                         |                                                                                                             |
| <i>chêfê</i> (12).                                            |                                                                                                             |
| <i>chêlêlê</i> (16).                                          |                                                                                                             |
| <i>-chipa</i> (33).                                           |                                                                                                             |
| † <i>chôfôlô</i> I (10).                                      |                                                                                                             |



- gunumaga* (Venda) Afr. *skoon*  
*maak* "clean," cf. Sotho  
*-kolomaka*.  
*-haka* Afr. *haak* "hook."  
*-hakolla* inversive of *-haka* "un-  
hook."  
*-hénéra* (19).  
*huku* (42).  
*-jaxeda* (Ndebele) (26).  
*ikómó* (36).  
*isema* (Xosa) (9).  
*-kafa* (18, 33).  
*-kantóró* (24).  
*kaushwana*, dim. of *kaushu*.  
*kapatlélé* "capital" (letter).  
*kariki* Afr. *karrekie*, *karretjie*  
"cart, trap."  
*kaushu* Afr. *kous* "sock."  
*katse* (28).  
*kéfa* (39).  
*-kêla* (33).  
*képisi* (5).  
*-kerea* (33).  
*-kêréfa* (27).  
*kêréke* (13).  
*-kerisha* (Xosa) (27).  
*ketane* Afr. *kettang*, *ketting*  
"chain"  
*kétlélé* "kettle."  
*kgantlélé* "candle."  
*khwishing* "kitchen."  
*kiribane* Afr. *kriewaen*, *kruywaen*  
"wheel-barrow."  
*kókókó* (8).  
*-kolobeca* (41).  
†*koloi* (38).  
*-kolomaka* (33).  
*-kôlôta* (34).  
*-komara* (26).  
*kómiki* Afr. *kommeljie* "mug."  
*kômponi* (16, 20).  
*-kórôpa* (18).  
*korosigi* (Venda) (32).  
*kórtó* < "quarter," e.g. *kórtó*  
*wane* "quarter to one."  
*kunerí* (Venda) (31).  
*kukupane* "wheel-barrow" from  
Zulu *ingqukumbane* "low  
cart."  
*-kunumaka* see *-kolomaka*.  
*kuranta* (42).  
*-kuruféla* (35).  
*-kurufolla* (35).  
*kuwane* (39).  
*-kwata* (25, 33).  
*-laita* (34).  
*-lata* (25).  
*lebenkele* (11).  
*lebótléló* (12, 21).  
*leburu* (12, 14, 29, 31)  
*lechaina* (15, 29).  
*lefaya* (32).  
*lefóie* variant of *lefaya*.  
*lefókisi* (9, 20, 29).  
*legalasi* Afr. *glas* "glass," in  
pl. it means "eye-glasses."  
*leismane*, (19, 29, 31).  
*lejakane* (29).  
†*lejoni* (29).  
*lejuta* (15, 21, 29).  
*lekêsé* Afr. *kis* "box."  
*lekgantlélá* (11).  
*lekgéswa* (39).  
†*lekgōa* (29).  
†*lekgōba* (15).  
*lekhíphi* (29).  
*lekuḽa* (15, 29, 31).  
*lekwapa* (29).  
†*lelaita* (15, 29, 34).  
*lengeloi* (41).  
*lengésimane* "Englishman."  
*leólanêré* (19, 29).  
*lepanta* (21).  
*lepantiti* (11, 29).

- lepara* (25, 29).  
*lepasitêrê* (29).  
*lepoi* (30).  
*lephôlisa* (11, 15, 29).  
*lepôkôlê* (8).  
*lepôkisi* (11).  
*lepolantane* (29, 31).  
*lepolantaya* variant of *lepolantane*.  
*lepôrêkanê* Afr. *predikant* "clergyman."  
*leshapô* (7).  
*lesôkisi* from "socks."  
*letaleana* (15).  
†*lethopo* (10, 38).  
*lethôsa* (29).  
*letsula* (29).  
*lebasitêrê* see *lepasitêrê*  
*ligau* (Venda) (31).  
*ligula* (Venda) (34).  
*likobo* (39).  
*limbara* (Venda) "raw native,"  
from Afr. *baar* "raw, rustic."  
*lilêkêrê* Afr. *lekkers* "sweets."  
*litharabulô* "troubles."  
*-loḡela* (Venda) (34).  
*maineng* (9).  
*mampara* "fool," see *lepara*.  
*manki* Afr. *mandjie* "basket."  
*mara* (14, 36).  
*marekeng* Afr. *mark* "market."  
*marogo* (11, 31).  
*masepala* (19).  
*matapole* Afr. *artappels* "potatoes."  
*matsula* (15).  
*machisi* "matches."  
*mbiḡi* (Venda) (39).  
*mebili* (32).  
*meboula* (32).  
*mmêrêkô* (32).  
*mmili* (32).  
*mmoula* (32).  
†*môkôlô* (26).  
*mokgatla* (10).  
*molo* (Zulu) (26).  
*molweni* (Zulu) (26).  
*moneri* (16, 27, 30).  
*mongatsi* (39).  
*-morodza* (Venda) (34).  
*-môrôsa* Afr. *mors* "waste."  
*moruti* (40).  
*mphaya* (32).  
*mpoi* (30).  
*muneri* (Thonga) (31).  
*muneri* (Venda) (31).  
*namune* (12).  
*nêkêstôlô* "next door."  
*ni* (36).  
*nômôrô* Afr. *nommer* "number."  
*-nôthisa* < notice "give notice."  
*-nôtlela* (35).  
*-nôtlolla* (35).  
*nyuwane* (6, 25).  
*ônôrôpakiana* dim. form < Afr.  
*onderbaadjie* "waistcoat."  
*ôpôgafa* Afr. *opgaaf* "tax."  
*pafu* (6, 12, 28).  
*-paka* "thrash," from Afr. *pak*  
*(slaag gee)*.  
*paki* Afr. *baadjie* "coat."  
*pampiri* (11, 14).  
*-pana* (18, 33, 35).  
*-panolla* (35).  
*-panta* "mortgage (a farm)"  
from Afr. *verband*, subst.  
"mortgage."  
*pasa* (28).  
*-pasêla* "give a present." Deri-  
vation uncertain. That given  
by Pettman, *Africanderisms*  
—from Xosa *-basela*, seems  
unlikely.  
*pasikili* "basket."

- pasópa (33).  
 -patéla (33, 35).  
 -patélísha (35).  
 pèrê Afr. *perd* "horse."  
 pèréko (32).  
 pikiri Afr. *beker* "mug, jug."  
 pitsi (39).  
 -poka (34).  
 pókisi (14).  
 pókólé, see *lepókólé*.  
 póláné (16).  
 pólómété (8).  
 pólása (14, 16).  
 póplóménté "portmanteau."  
 pórane (16)  
 pórómété, see *pólómété*.  
 pósó (11, 14).  
 -poula (18, 26, 33, 35).  
 -pouloga (35).  
 puku (12).  
 -rasa Afr. *raas* "make a lot of noise."  
 rékêré Afr. *rekker* "rubber, rubber goods."  
 -sala (Venda) Afr. *saal* "saddle."  
 -salula (Venda) "unsaddle," in-  
 versive of -sala.  
 sebaka (37).  
 sebara (17)  
 seburu (31)  
 seêta (39).  
 sefane Afr. *van* "surname"  
 sefepi (27).  
 †segwai (deriv. unknown) "me-  
 thylated spirits," drunk a  
 good deal by natives in the  
 towns.  
 seipôné (40).  
 seismane (31).  
 sekarasa Afr. *skaars*, "some-  
 thing that is scarce."  
 sekarêté (31).  
 sekélémé Afr. *skelm* "cunning  
 person, blackguard."  
 seképé Afr. *skip* "ship, boat."  
 sekérô Afr. *skér* "scissors."  
 sekébéka < Zulu *isigebenga*  
 "scoundrel, loafer, hooligan."  
 sekilemakwiki (37).  
 †sekókiyane "strong beer brewed  
 in the towns."  
 sekóló Afr. *skool* "school."  
 sekólótó (34).  
 †sekómfane, same meaning as  
 sekókiyane.  
 sekótléló Afr. *skottel* "dish,  
 basin."  
 sekula (31).  
 sekurufu (35).  
 selaga (20).  
 selégé (25).  
 selei Afr. *slee* "sledge."  
 seméshé "smash."  
 senótléló (27, 35).  
 sepatléla (18).  
 sepénshélé (22, 31).  
 sepetala (18).  
 sepoko (34).  
 sepolantane (31).  
 seshepe Afr. *seep* "soap."  
 seswanchó (40).  
 setarata (34).  
 setasi Afr. *stasie* "mission sta-  
 tion."  
 setempe (13, 31).  
 setene (1, 14).  
 seterafó (34).  
 setêrêk (36).  
 setêrêké (18).  
 setimêla (1, 8).  
 setishêné "station."  
 setóló (8, 17).  
 setôró, see *setóló*.

-*setsha* (Venda) "search (a person)."

*shineri* (Thonga) (31).

*shoti* (25).

-*sókóla* (33).

*sólanka* (36).

-*swogola* (Venda) (11).

*taimane(ng)* (23).

-*tampa* (18, 33).

*taramu* (16, 36).

-*tarata* (34).

-*terafa* (34).

*terêmpê* (22).

*thikhihi* < "ticket."

*tipi* (36).

*torônkong* (5).

*tôrôpô(ng)* (5, 11, 14).

*tshidina* (Venda) Afr. *s'een*

"brick." *tshidina tsha bibi*

translation of Afr. *pyp-steel*

"pipe-stem," due to confusion of *steel* and *steen*.

*tshigidi* (Venda) Afr. *skiet*

"shoot," a noun in Venda :

"gun."

*tshilodelo* (Venda) (34).

*tshimarusu* (Venda) (11).

-*tura* (11, 33).

*tututu* (10).

*ukomo* (36).

*yefrou* Afr. *juffrou* "Miss, Mrs., missionary's wife."





# THE PRONUNCIATION OF THE BEMBA LANGUAGE

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*Being some deductions resulting from phonetic research with the aid of  
the kymograph and palatography.*

By Rev. B. H. BARNES, C.R., and C. M. DOKE, M.A., D.Litt.

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## INTRODUCTORY

The following brief investigation into the pronunciation of the Bemba Language (*tivemba*) is the result of laboratory work carried out in the Department of Phonetics, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, during February, 1927. The subject upon whom the investigations were carried out was a young Bemba of twenty years, of the name of Christopher Usama, of Kalundi, near Mpolokoso, N.E. Rhodesia. Christopher's pronunciation was clear, and his speech normal, we consider, for Bemba. Two further Bemba natives resident at Alexandra Township, Johannesburg, were used for checking purposes, and confirmed the conclusions we arrived at with reference to Christopher's pronunciation. These were Stephen Chanda, about 28 years of age, who had been resident in Johannesburg for two years, and Elisabeti Kafula, about 30 years of age, who had also been in Johannesburg for the same length of time.

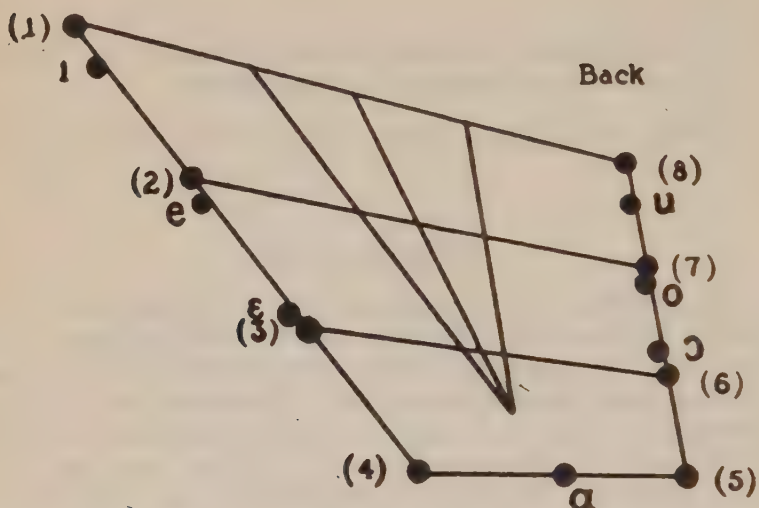
The Bemba people (*avavemba*) constitute an important tribe in North-eastern Rhodesia, inhabiting a large territory bounded on the north by Lake Tanganyika, on the south by the Bangweolo, on the east by the Chambezi River, and on the west by the Luapula River and Lake Mweru. They belong to the Central Bantu peoples, having much in common linguistically with the Lubas, the Lambas, and other Central Bantu tribes.

We have dealt herein merely with the normal grammatical phonetics of Bemba, and have made no attempt to analyse any of the extra-normal phonetic phenomena which appear to such a great extent in the interjections and onomatopœic radical descriptives, which abound in all Bantu languages.

## THE ORAL VOWELS

## § 2. CHART OF BEMBA ORAL VOWELS

Front



All Bemba vowels are oral; that is, during their enunciation the whole volume of air passes through the mouth, the velum being raised to close the passage through the nose. Bemba uses no lax vowels, all are pronounced with tenseness of the vocal organs, and hence appear on the outside lines in the chart above. Bemba vowels correspond very closely to those of Lamba, the system being a seven-fold one, with three basic vowels, *i*, *u* and *a*, and four intermediate vowels, two forward (*e* and *ɛ*) and two back (*o* and *ɔ*).

## § 3. THE HIGH FORWARD VOWEL

Though considerably lower in tongue-position than for Cardinal No. 1, this vowel is higher than in Southern English pronunciation. It must be noticed that in Bemba there is no change in tongue-position when there is an alteration in quantity. *i* occurs both long and short in Bemba. Examples :

*ukwi:ɸiɸi:ɸa* (to go away for good)

*ɸɸɸɸɸɸɸɸ* (make a fire for me)

*ukufita fititɸ* (to be intensely black)

*itɸi:ta* (an offering)

## § 4. THE HIGH BACK VOWEL

In tongue-position slightly above mid-way between Cardinals Nos. 7 and 8. There is no excessive rounding with this vowel in Bemba. It is a pure vowel occurring both long and short, without any alteration in tongue-position. Example :

*umulu:mbɿ* (story)

*ingulu* (nature spirit)

*it/iku:ku* (kindness)

*it/ikuku* (bark box)

## § 5. THE LOW VOWEL

Tongue-position about mid-way between Cardinals Nos. 4 and 5. Pronunciation closely akin to that of Standard Southern English *a* in *father*. When short there is no alteration in tongue-position or tenseness, and foreigners are warned against pronouncing final *a* as the neutral vowel. Examples :

*ama:kq* (strength)

*ta:tq* (my father)

*ukutapq* (to draw water)

## § 6. THE MID-FORWARD AND MID-BACK VOWELS

In Bemba there are two exemplifications of each of these, a half open and a half-close.

(i) *The half-close forward vowel*.—In the pronunciation of this, the lips are but slightly spread, and the tongue-position is a little lower than for Cardinal No. 2. The Bemba vowel is practically the same as the first element in the Southern English diphthong *ei* (as in *bay*). The Bemba vowel is pure and care must be taken not to diphthongize. Both long and short varieties occur without alteration of tongue-position or tensity.

(ii) *The half-open forward vowel*.—Tongue-position slightly, if anything, above Cardinal No. 3, and certainly higher than for the pronunciation of the first element of the Southern English diphthong in the word *fair*. Here again Bemba uses a pure vowel and any diphthongization must be carefully avoided. Both long and short varieties occur. Examples of *e* and *ɛ* :

*t/ɛ:ndʒɛ:lq* (take care)

*lɛ:lə* (with)

*pɛpɛ* (pray)

*le:tq* (bring)

*ɪnɛnsɛ* (cricket)

*lɛlɛ* (nurse)

*pɛ:pɛ* (smoke)

*n:dʒɛ* (let me go)



(iii) *The half-close back vowel*.—Lips fairly rounded, tongue-position somewhat lower than for Cardinal No. 7, and much as for the first element of the Southern English diphthong *ou* (as in *no*). The Bemba vowel is pure and must not be diphthongized. It occurs both long and short without any change in tongue-position.

(iv) *The half-open back vowel*.—Lips not excessively rounded, tongue-position slightly above that for Cardinal No. 6 and very considerably higher than for its corresponding sound in Southern English, viz., the first element of the diphthong *oi* as in *boy*). It occurs both long and short without any change in tongue-position. Examples of *o* and *ɔ* :

<i>lɔ:ŋga</i> (brew)	<i>nɔ:mba</i> (but)
<i>lo:tɔ</i> (dream)	<i>umwina:ŋgɔ</i> (member of the
<i>po:kɔlɔlɔ</i> (take away)	leopard clan)
<i>pɔkɔ</i> (receive)	<i>ukuɔ:vɔlɔ</i> (to rebuke)
<i>pɔtɔ</i> (twist)	

It is practically certain that the occurrence of these varieties of mid-forward and mid-back vowels are regulated by definite rules, dependent upon length, stress and surrounding vowel or consonant influence. In the time at our disposal, it has not been possible to pursue this line of enquiry.<sup>1</sup>

## § 7

Except for the existence of certain falling diphthongs, the first element of which is represented in this analysis by *j* or *w*, diphthongs do not occur in Bemba. Vowels occur in juxtaposition, and must be pronounced separately, two pulsations being necessary in their enunciation. Examples :

### (a) Different vowels—

<i>tel:ne</i> (it is not I)	<i>umweɔ</i> (life)
<i>ɪmwantɛ</i> (a youngster)	<i>ɕnaɪ:lɔ</i> (destroy)
<i>akaundy</i> (small jigger)	<i>ɪlupa:ɕ</i> (offering)
<i>naitende:kɔ</i> (I have begun it)	

### (b) Like vowels—

<i>utuundy</i> (small jiggers)	<i>valee:vɔ</i> (they were saying)
<i>imbɔɔ</i> (buffalo)	<i>nɔaŋgala</i> (I play)
<i>iŋgɪ</i> (many)	

<sup>1</sup> For the nature of such rules in Lamba and Zulu, see Doke, *A Study in Lamba Phonetics*, § 8 (Bantu Studies, Vol. III., No. 1), and Doke, *The Phonetics of the Zulu Language*, Chapter II., § 6 (University of the Witwatersrand Press, 1926).

With certain speakers a semi-vowel, *j* or *w*, is interposed between the juxtaposed vowels, but even when this is done, its pronunciation is so slight that it may be considered merely as the normal glide between vowel and vowel.

It must be emphasised that in the correct pronunciation of Bemba, care must be taken to differentiate between :—

(a) Short vowel (one short pulsation)

(b) Long vowel (one long pulsation)

(c) Double vowel (two pulsations)

The double vowels naturally constitute two syllables each.

### § 8. CHART OF EMITTED CONSONANTS

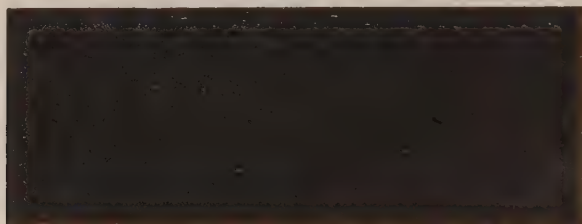
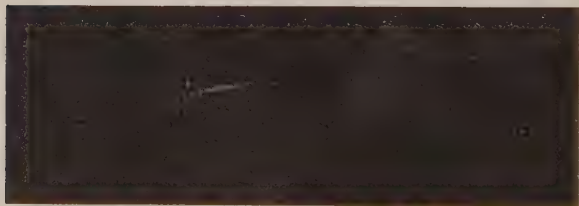
		Bilabial	Denti-Labial	Alve-olar	Pre-Palatal	Velar
Explosive :						
Unvoiced ...		<i>p</i>		<i>t</i>		<i>k</i>
Voiced ...		( <i>m</i> ) <i>b</i>		( <i>n</i> ) <i>d</i>		( <i>ŋ</i> ) <i>g</i>
Nasal :						
Voiced ...		<i>m</i>	<i>ɱ</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ɲ</i>	<i>ŋ</i>
Syllabic ...		<i>m̥</i>	<i>ɱ̥</i>	<i>n̥</i>	<i>ɲ̥</i>	<i>ŋ̥</i>
Fricative :						
Radical ...			<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>ʃ</i>	
Voiced ...		<i>v</i>				
Affricate :						
Radical ...					<i>tʃ</i>	
Voiced ...					<i>dʒ</i>	
Lateral ...	v.			<i>l</i>		
Flapped Lateral	v.			<i>ɫ</i>		
Semi-vowel	v.				<i>j</i>	<i>w</i>

## § 9

The consonantal system of Bemba is comparatively simple. All the consonants are emitted, there are no explosives, clicks or reversed sounds. The full range of nasals, used homorganically, is typically Bantu. Though it will be noticed that slight aspiration of the unvoiced explosives occurs at times, this is in no way a significant feature, and even in a fairly close transcription need not be marked. The paucity of voiced fricatives is a feature shared with Lamba, but the use of prepalatal affricates instead of palatal explosives differentiates Bemba sharply from Lamba. The buffer Aushi tribe shares the Lamba forms; in fact, Aushi seems closely akin to Lamba in grammar and phonetics, while nearer to Bemba in vocabulary.

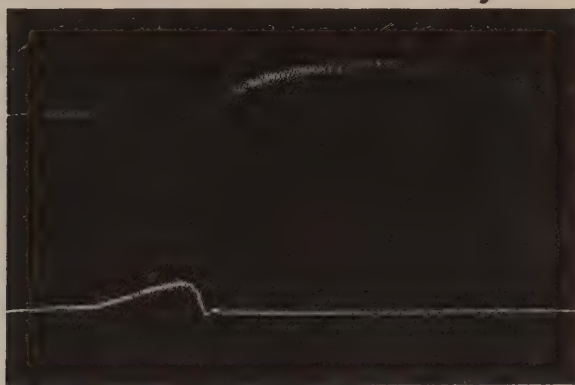
As with many Central Bantu languages, the voiced explosives in Bemba do not occur apart from their homorganic nasals. Bemba shares with Lamba the complete absence of glottal consonants.

## § 10. THE UNVOICED EXPLOSIVES

*tʰe**tu**kʰa*

The above kymograph tracings<sup>1</sup> are typical of a number taken in conjunction with various vowels, with the consonants both initial and medial. It is at once seen that, in Bemba, *p* is considerably aspirated, *t* not aspirated at all, and *k* slightly aspirated.

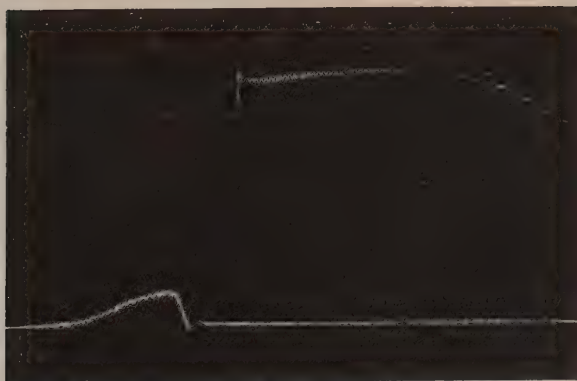
When preceded by the homorganic nasal, the stop of the unvoiced explosive becomes slightly voiced. This is due to a slight extent to a nasalization of the stop, which makes it difficult to distinguish these tracings from the corresponding ones for the voiced explosives preceded by homorganic nasal. The effect of the voicing of the stop is seen at once by the eradication of all aspiration in the explosive, so that *p<sup>h</sup>* becomes *mp*. The following simultaneous mouth- and nose-tracings illustrate the above-mentioned points :—



M.T.

*mpa*

N.T.



M.T.

*nta*

N.T.



## § 11. THE VOICED EXPLOSIVES

In Bemba, *b*, *d* and *g* do not occur, apart from the homorganic nasals forming the combinations *mb*, *nd* and *ng*. It is impossible, then, to examine these voiced explosives isolated, in order to determine whether their stops are voiced or not. A reference to the kymograph tracing of *mb*, given in § 23, shows that the voicing in the stop is quite marked; but the simultaneous nose-tracing reveals the fact that some, at least, of this voicing is due to nasalization.

## § 12. THE BILABIAL EXPLOSIVES

The unvoiced form is pronounced much as in normal English, with a certain amount of aspiration, very little more than in English. This aspiration, which is lost when the consonant is preceded by *m*, is not significant, and *p* is a sufficient symbol to indicate the sound.

Example :

*umupungga* (rice)

*palana* (resemble)

*pe: nape:* (always)

*ukupju:ngga* (to work)

*pwi/i/i/a* (finish completely)

In Bemba the voiced form *b* normally occurs in conjunction with the homorganic nasal *m*, though it has been found initially under circumstances described in § 23. Examples :

*ukuvumba* (to be wet)

*imbasa* (adze)

*ku:mbi* (elsewhere)

*imbui* (goat)

## § 13. THE ALVEOLAR EXPLOSIVES

The *t* and *d* in Bemba are truly alveolar consonants, formed with tongue-tip and sides against the alveolus and upper side teeth. The



front of the tongue reaches the bases of the upper front teeth and, in this, the sound closely resembles the Southern English *t*. In the one case investigated, the tongue was placed rather more to the left side of the mouth than to the right.

The unvoiced form is devoid of all aspiration, whether used initially or when preceded by the homorganic nasal *n*. Examples of *t* :

<i>t/utotlɔ</i> (shrewish woman)	<i>tapɔ</i> (draw water)
<i>tɛnɛ</i> (is it not I)	<i>tɛ:tɪ</i> (it is not that)
<i>tumpɔ</i> (be foolish)	<i>twikɔ</i> (load another)
<i>tanta</i> (cut up meat)	

Examples of *nd* :

<i>ukufu:nda</i> (to skin)	<i>indoʃ</i> (wizard)
<i>ndɛ:tʃitɔ</i> (I act)	<i>tʃikundʒɛ</i> (white-backed duiker)
<i>n:dwɛ</i> (let me fight)	

#### § 14. THE VELAR EXPLOSIVES

Pronounced as in English, with the back of the tongue raised to touch the soft palate. The unvoiced form is slightly aspirated as the English equivalent. The homorganic nasal *ŋ*, placed before the unvoiced form, has the effect of eliminating all aspiration.

Examples :

<i>ukuku:lɔ</i> (to build)	<i>kɛ:pɪkɔ</i> (cook)
<i>ukwisulɔ</i> (to be full)	<i>inkafɪ</i> (sister)
<i>ukuko:lɔ</i> (to cough)	

The voiced form, *g*, is never used in Bemba apart from the homorganic nasal *ŋ*. The combination *ŋg* must be carefully distinguished from the simple velar nasal *ŋ*, which may also be used directly before vowels. Examples of *ŋg* :

<i>funɣɪlɔ</i> (tie up)	<i>inɣuluvɛ</i> (river hog)
<i>impɔŋgɔ</i> (veldt)	<i>va:ŋguɪlɔ</i> (they knocked me down)
<i>ingo:fɛ</i> (spec. of snake)	

#### § 15. THE NASALS IN BEMBA

Used homorganically, there are nasals in Bemba representative of each of the five organic positions for speech sounds, viz., bilabial, denti-labial, alveolar, prepalatal and velar ; of these, four (viz. *m*, *n*, *ɲ* and *ŋ*) are also used as consonants in their own standing before vowels. Further, each of the five homorganic nasals may be used syllabically under special and restricted circumstances.

## § 16. THE BILABIAL NASAL

Pronounced as in English, and used—

## (a) Before vowels, e.g.:

<i>ame:ɲfɪ</i> (water)	<i>umuvɪɪɪ</i> (body)
<i>amɔ:ɲga</i> (quantity of meal)	

(b) Before the semi-vowels, *j* and *w*, e.g.:

<i>mjaɲga</i> (lick)	<i>umuvɪɪɪ</i> (short person)
<i>imjɛɲɟɛɪ</i> (spec. of tree)	<i>ɪ:mwe</i> (you, pl.)

(c) Homorganically before *p* and *b*, e.g.:

<i>impepɔ</i> (cold)	<i>impumɪ</i> (forehead)
<i>uvwambɔ</i> (nakedness)	<i>imbɔɲɪ</i> (pupil of eye)

## § 17. THE DENTI-LABIAL NASAL

This nasal is only used homorganically, in conjunction with *f*. It is pronounced with contact between the upper front teeth and the lower lip, as is necessary for the pronunciation of *f*. In a broad transcription, *mf* would do instead of *ɲf*, as the bilabial *m* never occurs in Bemba before *f*. In some other Bantu languages, notably Zulu, a syllabic bilabial nasal is found before *f*, as well as the denti-labial non-syllabic nasal. Examples:

<i>vamfwaja</i> (they look for me)	<i>imɲfɪɪ</i> (darkness)
<i>imɲfula</i> (rain)	<i>ukutɲɲfja</i> (to make fun of)

## § 18. THE ALVEOLAR NASAL

The palatograph record of Bemba *n* shows a tongue-position practically identical with that of *t*, the only difference discoverable being in the degree of tensity—there being more tensity in the case of the explosive, as is only to be expected, on account of the greater compression needed. Examples:

## (a) Before vowels—

<i>naka</i> (be soft)	<i>noko</i> (thy mother)
<i>nunika</i> (smell)	

(b) Before semi-vowel *w*—

<i>nwapɔ</i> (drink)	<i>iminwe</i> (fingers)
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(c) Homorganically before *t*, *d* and *s*—

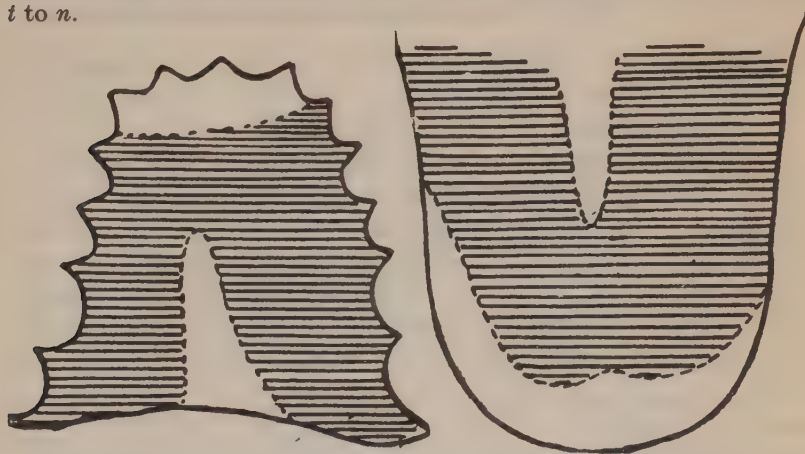
<i>intɪ:pu</i> (curse)	<i>intapɪ</i> (the advance portion)
<i>indalawa</i> (rust)	<i>nsɔnsɛkɔ</i> (let me sprinkle)
<i>insonɪ</i> (shame)	<i>insumbu</i> (island)

## § 19. THE PREPALATAL NASAL

The prepalatal nasal, to indicate which we use the symbol *n*, while *ñ* is used homorganically before the other prepalatal consonants /, *t*/ and *dʒ*, is also used extensively in Bemba directly followed by vowels. It must be carefully distinguished on the one hand from the true palatal nasal, such as occurs in Lamba<sup>1</sup>, and on the other hand from the alveolar nasal followed by the palatal glide, *nj* (as in English *onion*). See, however, footnote to § 44 (*a*) for an example of *nj*.

Bemba *n* very closely resembles Zulu *n*<sup>2</sup>. An examination of the palatograph and linguagraph shews that the sound is produced by the blade of the tongue coming into contact with that portion of the palate on the border line between the alveolus and hard palate proper. The tongue tip is in a neutral position, but its exact position, provided it is not raised to touch the alveolus, is really immaterial.

The following palatograph will shew a position closely akin to that for *t*/ (§ 28), the first element of which corresponds to *n*, as does *t* to *n*.



The following is the approximate tongue-position for Bemba *n* :—



<sup>1</sup> See Doke, *A Study in Lamba Phonetics*, § 23 (Bantu Studies, Vol. III., No. 1).

<sup>2</sup> See Doke, *The Phonetics of the Zulu Language*, Chapter VI., § 5.



## Examples :

## (a) Before vowels—

<i>nina</i> (his mother)	<i>liŋgaŋa</i> (make equal)
<i>nu:nsa</i> (stretch)	<i>nɔŋga</i> (twist)
<i>nɛndɛ</i> (let me travel)	

## (b) Homorganically before /, t/ and dʒ—

<i>n/ai/wɛ</i> (I didn't know)	<i>n/u:kɛ</i> (let me prosper)
<i>ɪnt/ito</i> (work)	<i>nt/ɔ:ŋgɛ</i> (let me correct)
<i>ɪndʒa</i> (lechwe)	<i>ɪnandʒe</i> (maize)
<i>ɪndʒandʒi</i> (railway line)	

## § 20. THE VELAR NASAL

Pronounced as *ŋ* in the Southern English pronunciation of *ringing*, with back of tongue raised to touch the soft palate, as for *k* or *g*. Apart from its use as homorganic nasal before velar consonants, *ŋ* is commonly found in Bemba before vowels and the semi-vowel *w*.

## Examples :

## (a) Before vowels and semi-vowel —

<i>ɪŋaŋga</i> (doctor)	<i>ɪŋoma</i> (drum)
<i>ɪŋwena</i> (crocodile)	<i>ɪŋumba</i> (barren woman)
<i>ŋwiŋwintɔ</i> (grumble)	

(b) Homorganically before *k* and *g*—

<i>ɪŋkunɪ</i> (firewood)	<i>ɪŋkokɔ</i> (fowl)
<i>umutɛŋgɔ</i> (price)	<i>ɪŋjala</i> (feather)

## § 21. SYLLABIC NASALS

Syllabic nasals cannot properly be classified under the heading of ordinary consonants. They have vowel effect in words. It is not possible, however, to classify them with ordinary vowels, as they cannot be indicated on a vowel chart. In this analysis, therefore, it is convenient to deal with them under the heading of consonants.

In Bemba, syllabic nasals are but rarely used, apart from onomatopoeia, and in fact seem confined to the first person subjectival concord when used with monosyllabic verb stems. These syllabic nasals occur only when not initial in a sense-group, and have the vowel resonance of *i*. When, however, the subjectival concord occurs initially in a sense-group, the syllabic nasal gives way to the ordinary nasal consonant preceded by the vowel *i*. Instances have been found of each of the homorganic nasals occurring syllabic. Examples :

(a) When not initial in a sense-group—

*m:bɛ* (let me become)

*ɱ:fwɛ* (let me die)

*n:djɛ* (let me eat)

*n:t/ɛ* (let me disperse)

*n:dʒɛ* (let me go)

*ɱ:gwɛ* (let me fall)

E.g., *nde:fwaja ati n:dʒɛ kumu/ɿ* (I want to go to the village).

(b) When initial in a sense-group—

*i:ndje ifjakɯʔja* (let me eat some food)

*ɱj:fwɛ:fjɛ* (just let me die)

It must be pointed out that syllabic nasals do *not* result from the use of a first person singular concord (subjectival or objectival) with verbs commencing in nasals. The two nasals merely merge, an ordinary nasal being the result. Examples :

*leká mi:nɛ* (leave me, let me swallow)

*ni:ne kumutɿ* (let me climb the tree).

Except when such a verb-stem is monosyllabic, e.g. *n:nwɛ* (let me drink).

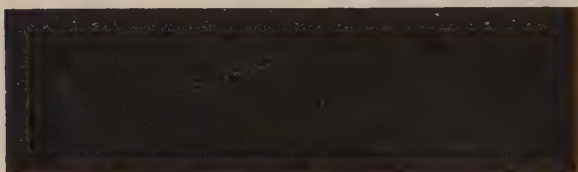
## § 22. THE FRICATIVES IN BEMBA

Bemba shares with Lamba a very limited range of fricatives. There is only one voiced fricative and but three unvoiced. There is no correspondence of unvoiced to voiced forms, these four fricatives representing four different organic positions. Two of the unvoiced fricatives, as will be seen, belong to the same phoneme, hence Bemba fricatives represent but three distinct phonemes.

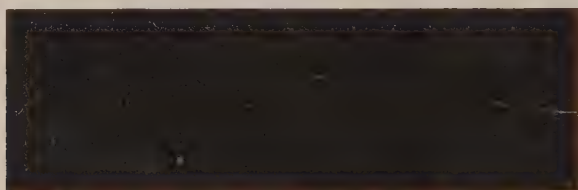
## § 23. THE BILABIAL FRICATIVE

In Bemba orthography, though this is written *b*, it has been recognised by many that the sound is not an explosive.<sup>1</sup> It is a sound common to most of the Central Bantu languages, and sometimes called "bilabial *v*" or "fricative *b*." In its formation there is not complete contact and closure of the lips, but they are brought close enough together to cause vibration as the voiced sound passes through. The sound has been variously misheard and mis-recorded by Europeans as *b* or *v* or *w*. From the following kymograph tracings it will be noticed that the sound is remarkably vibrant, especially when initial.

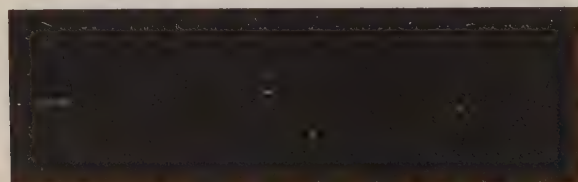
<sup>1</sup> Owing to lack of phonetic type, italic *v* (*v*) is used in this paper.

*va**uvu*

In Lamba, when *v* is followed by the semi-vowel *w*, it is usual for complete contact to be effected and the fricative to give place to the explosive sound *b*; in Bemba, though this does not take place, a tendency towards it is noticed in the following tracing, which is representative of a number recorded :—

*vua*

This tendency is even more marked in the case of the bilabial fricative followed by the semi-vowel *j* :—

*vja*

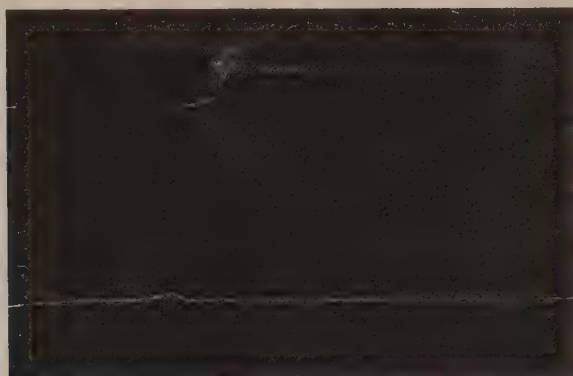
Any such tendency, however, is entirely obliterated when the sound becomes medial instead of initial, as the following record shews :—



*t w a v j a p a*

We noticed that Christopher was rather liable at times to copy the English *b* pronunciation, when first making deliberate sounds : he did not do this when speaking normally, and we felt that the explosive pronunciation of *v*, even when initial before *j*, is not a feature of true Bemba. The testing of more individuals, however, is necessary to clear up this point.

In Bemba, when *v* is influenced by the homorganic nasal *m*, it undergoes change, and becomes the bilabial voiced explosive *b*.



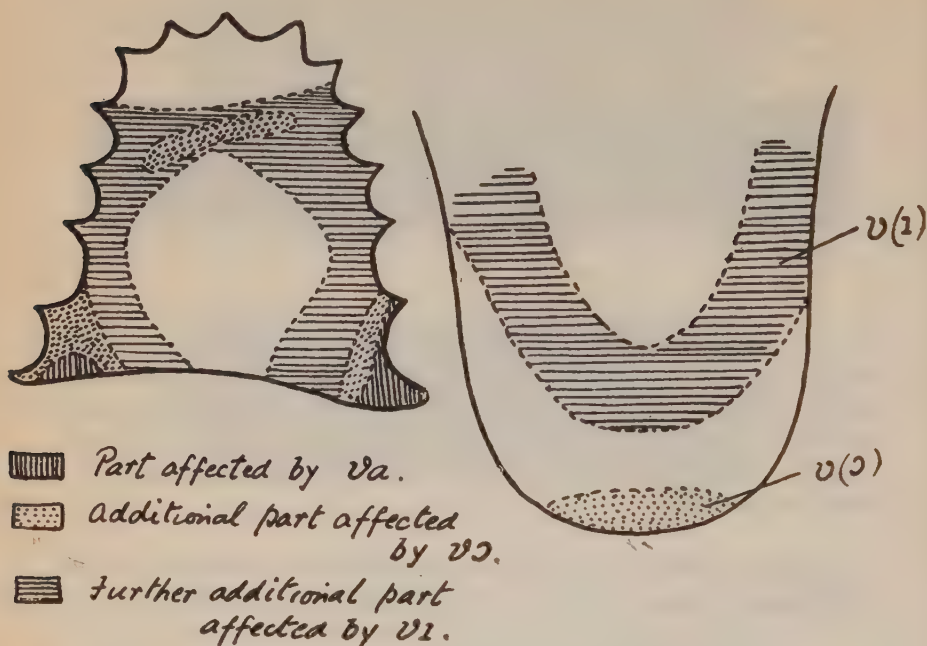
M.T.

N.T.

(Simultaneous mouth- and nose-tracing of Bemba *mba*.)

The following palatograph experiments upon Christopher afford some interesting points for consideration which can only be cleared up by similar experiments upon other natives. With Christopher, the tongue took up definite positions with regard to the palate, positions which naturally varied with the vowel used. While we consider that these tongue-positions are non-significant as regards the correct pronunciation of *v*, the fact of their existence cannot be overlooked:—





In the pronunciation of *vo*, the tip of the tongue was raised to touch that portion of the palate between the alveolus and hard palate proper, while with the pronunciation of *vi*, the tongue took up a true pre-palatal position, making definite contact during enunciation. No acoustic effect of this was, however, noticed. With *ve* only the tongue-position for *e* was noticed.

Similar phenomena were noticed with the semi-vowel *w* (see § 29).  
 Examples of *v* :

(a) Before vowels—

*ukuvmba* (to be wet)                      *vutuka* (run)  
*avantu vesu vo:nse* (all our people)  
*vilq* (boil)                                      *ukuvava* (to smart, itch)

(b) Before semi-vowels *w* and *j*—

*vjata* (flash)                                      *alè:vjo:lq* (he is belching)  
*vjalulula* (re-sow)                              *vvelclq* (go back)  
*uvwi:tq* (confluence)

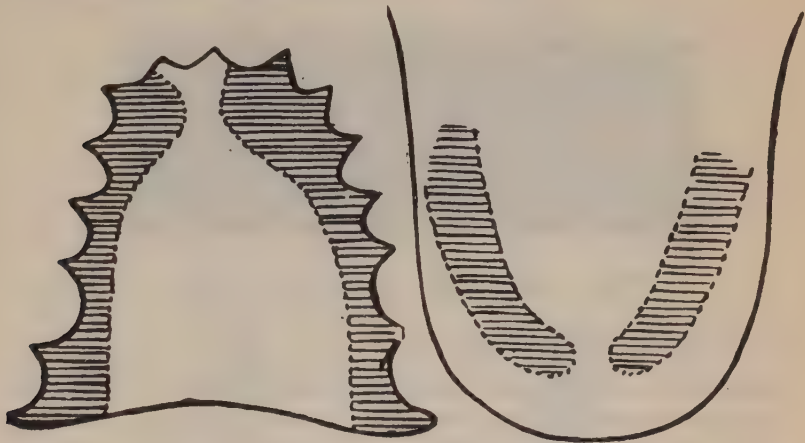
## § 24. THE DENTI-LABIAL FRICATIVE

Pronounced as in English with upper front teeth against lower lip. Bemba employs only the unvoiced form, *f*, and this is not found before

the vowels *a* or *e*, and only in one case before the vowel *ɛ*, viz., *fɛnɛnkè:/a* (pinch); even this word has an alternative pronunciation in *fjɛnɛnkè:/a*. Before all other vowels and the two semi-vowels *f* is used extensively. It has already been observed (§ 17) that *ɲ* is the homorganic nasal used with *f*. Examples :

- f*. *ɪfɪ:ntɪ* (things), *fɔ:pa* (suck fruit), *fula* (be abundant)  
*fw*. *fwajɔ* (seek), *fwi:kɔ* (clothe), *fwenda* (scratch)  
*fj*. *it/ɪfju:fjɪ* (a joint), *fjo:nɔ* (blow nose), *fje:nta* (tie tightly)  
*ɲf*. *ɲfumu* (chief) *ɲfwɪ* (grey hair)

## § 25. THE ALVEOLAR FRICATIVE



In Bemba only the unvoiced variety is used, and this (*s*) belongs to the same phoneme as the unvoiced pre-palatal fricative *j*. In Bemba *s* is never followed by the vowel *i* or the semi-vowel *j*; when, morphologically, an *i* should follow *s* the latter gives place to *j*. Examples of *s* :

### (a) Followed by vowels—

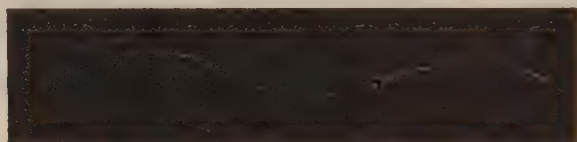
- sɔsɔ* (speak) *umusevɔ* (hoed path)  
*suvwɔ* (to be still)

### (b) Followed by the semi-vowel *w*—

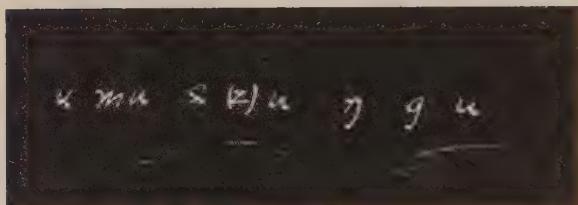
- ukuswa/a* (to rustle) *swɛŋga* (sound, of reedbuck)  
*swimini/a* (look fixedly)

Normally *s*, in Bemba, is completely devoid of voicing, as the tracing of *sɛŋga*, given below, shews. However, when medial and followed by the vowel *u*, it has been noticed that *s* becomes voiced before its

completion, e.g., *umuszunga* (porridge). This was especially noticeable in the word *umuszu:ŋɔ* (European), an imported word derived from the Nyanja *mzungu*, where the use of *z* may have had an influence on Bemba.



s      ɛ      ŋ      g      a



L.T.

M.T.

(Simultaneous larynx and mouth-tracing.)

## § 26. THE PRE-PALATAL FRICATIVE

Bemba / has tongue-position as for English /, but in enunciation the tongue invariably passes through a *j*-glide position. / belongs to the same phoneme as *s*. With /, as with *t/* and *ndʒ*, it is unnecessary to use the prepalatal semi-vowel *j* in writing unless the same symbol as for *s* were being used, when the *j*-glide would have to be inserted before vowels other than *i*. For palatograph illustrating /, see that for *t/* in § 28. Examples :

/	/ama (be unlucky)	/u:kɑ (be lucky)
	/e:ta (chew)	/o:ka (be bent)
	/unda (hover)	
ɲ/	ukwe:ɲ/a (drive along)	

Examples of grammatical change from *s* to / in the formation of perfect stems :

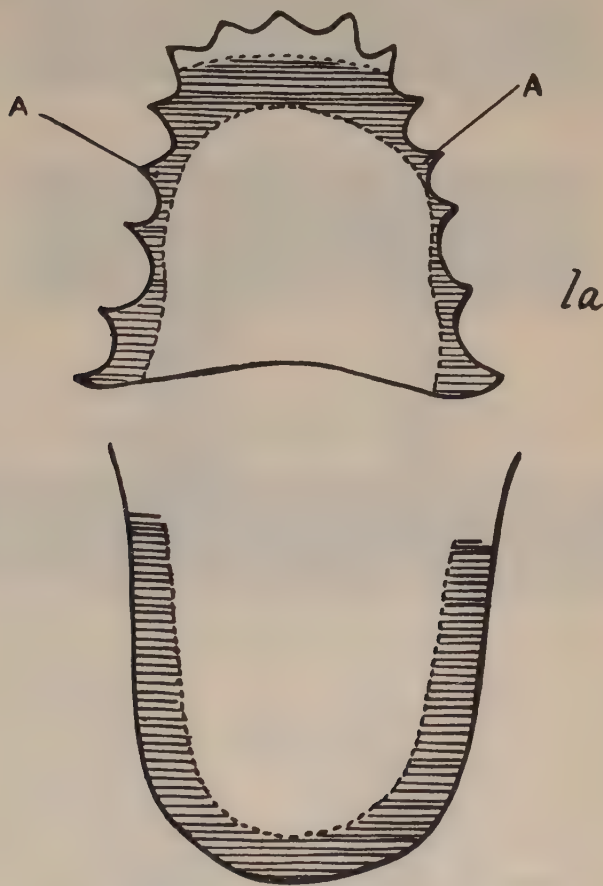
isa	—	-i/iʔe	pusɑ	—	pu/iʔe
pusa	—	-pa/iʔe			

But notice, when the following vowel would be *ɛ*, there is no change, e.g. :

posɑ	—	-posɛʔe	pesɑ	—	-pesɛʔe
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## § 27. THE LATERALS

There are two voiced lateral sounds found in Bemba, one of which is the true *l*, differing in no significant way from the "clear *l*" of Southern English. The following palatograph and linguagraph illustrate this :—



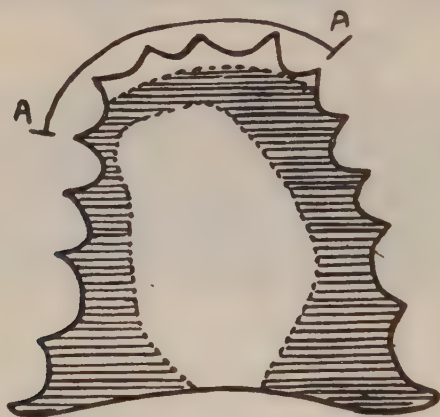
AA. Points of intensity of lateral escape.

This lateral is a true alveolar sound formed with the tongue-tip against the alveolus, and in the case of Christopher the enunciation was bilateral, the points of escape being well forward.

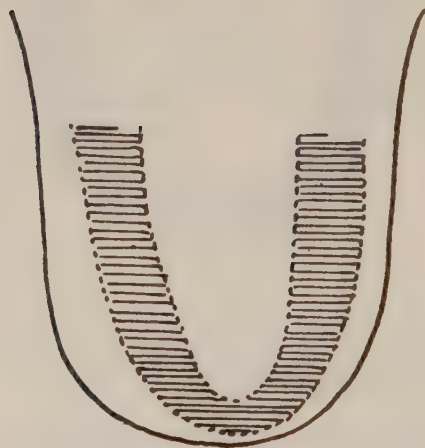
The second sound is not a continuant, but is enunciated with a single flap of the tongue. Contact positions are much as for *l*, but naturally there is more tension and greater contact around the sides.



This sound closely resembles the "flapped lateral" in Lamba,<sup>1</sup> and we use the symbol *P* to indicate it. In its production the sides of the tongue are raised to touch the palate all along the upper side teeth. The forward part of the tongue blade (not tip) flaps against the alveolus, almost up to the upper front teeth, while the air escapes over the front and slightly forward laterally. With the one native examined there was a tendency to operate towards the right side of the mouth rather than the left. The following palatograph and linguagraph shew the position.

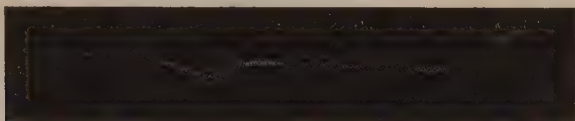


A-A Region of Air-escape

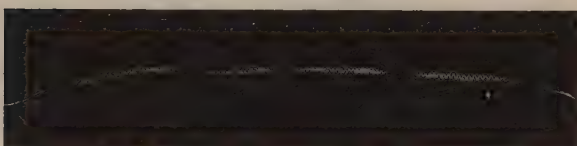


<sup>1</sup> For a description of that, see Doke, *A Study in Lamba Phonetics*, § 31 (Bantu Studies, Vol. III., No. 1).

That the difference between *l* and *ɭ* is to a great extent one of degree in release of the tongue-tip is shewn well in the following kymograph tracings:—

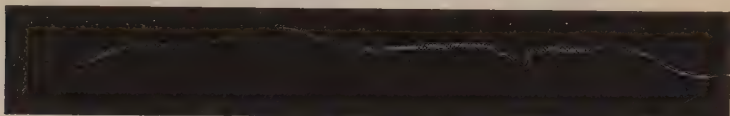


*pʰ e: m b ɛ l ɛ l a*



*i: ɭ i ɭ i: ɭ a*

The flap with which the tongue is released in the case of *ɭ* amounts almost to an explosion, as is exemplified in the following:—



*v a ɭ i f w a ɭ ɭ e*

Examples of *l* and *ɭ*:

<i>Piviɭi</i> (again)	<i>londa</i> (follow)
<i>umwant/e aleɭɭa</i> (the child is crying)	
<i>ɭuɭuma</i> (thunder)	<i>ukulwalɔ</i> (be ill)
<i>ɭɭja/i</i> (chat)	<i>ifiɭjɔ</i> (food)
<i>ulwimbɔ</i> (song)	<i>ulwapulɔ</i> (R. Luapula)

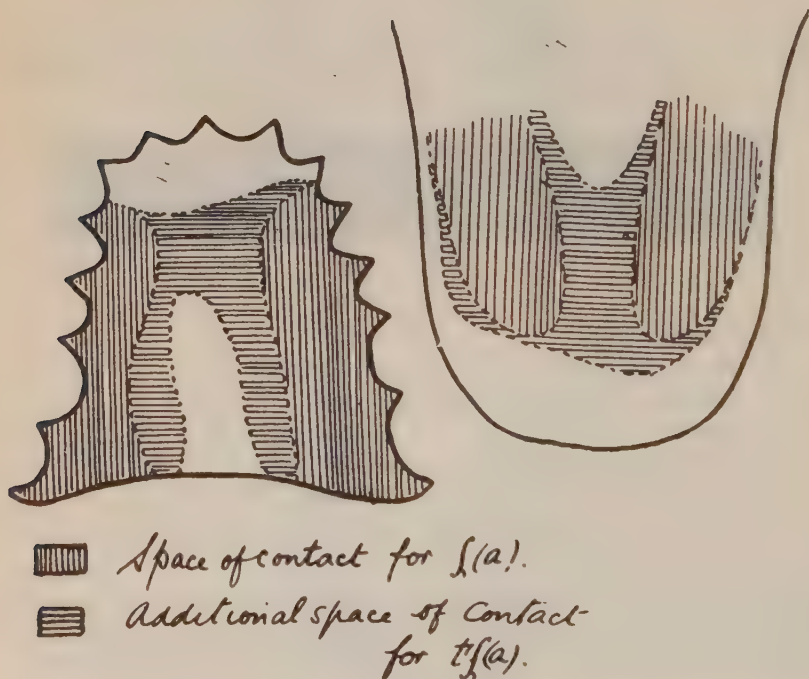
It is noteworthy that in Bemba *l* is always used before the semi-vowel *w*, and *ɭ* always before the semi-vowel *j*. It has not been possible to formulate any definite rules, apart from the above observation, for the occurrence of *l* and *ɭ*; and in all probability one speaker differs from another in his usage of these sounds. It is certain that *l* and *ɭ* belong to the same phoneme.

## § 28. THE AFFRICATES

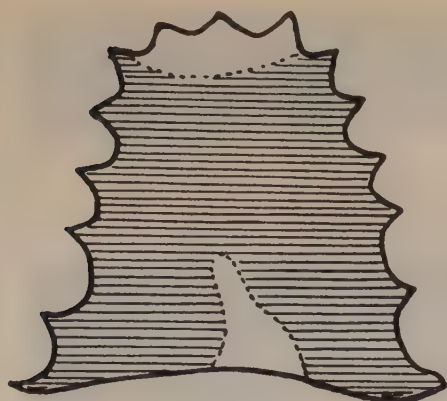
There are only two affricates in Bemba, the unvoiced and the voiced pre-palatals. These sounds closely resemble those used in Zulu,

except that in the case of the unvoiced form the Zulu sound is accompanied by ejection, whereas the Bemba sound is radical, and that the Zulu sounds are not palatalized. A sound very much like the Bemba one was observed among certain speakers in Tonga, of the Middle Zambesi. In formation, these sounds are very much like those in the English words *church* and *judge*, with the exception that the Bemba sounds are *always* accompanied by a marked palatal glide, and the English are almost tongue-rim affricates.

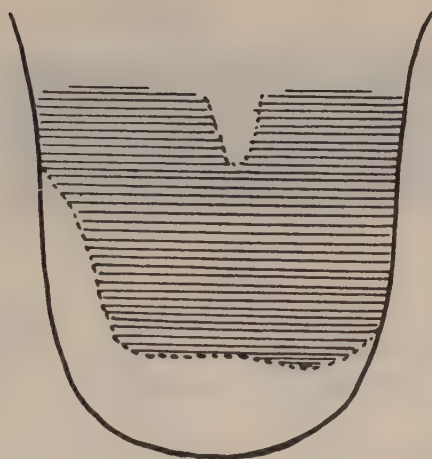
The following palatograph and linguagraph shew the tongue-positions for / and t/. It is the forward part of the blade of the tongue (not the tip), which is raised to touch the border line of alveolus and hard palate. The first element, then, is not *t*, but to represent this the symbol *t* is used. The second element is /, which has already been described in § 26.



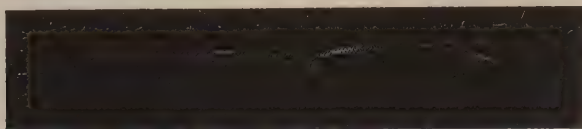
The voiced form, which is also palatalized, is never used apart from the homorganic nasal *n*. For the first element of the affricate we use the symbol *d*.



$nd_3(a)$

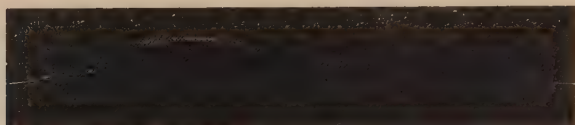


The following kymograph tracings shew clearly the nature of these prepalatals, and the affrication of  $t/$  and  $d_3$  :—

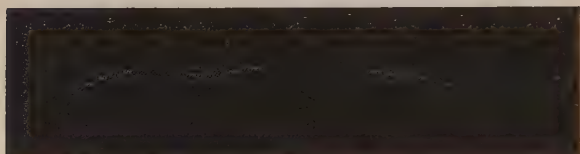


$/ \quad a \quad p \quad a$





*t/ u n ɪ*



*v w a t/ a*



*i ndʒ a*

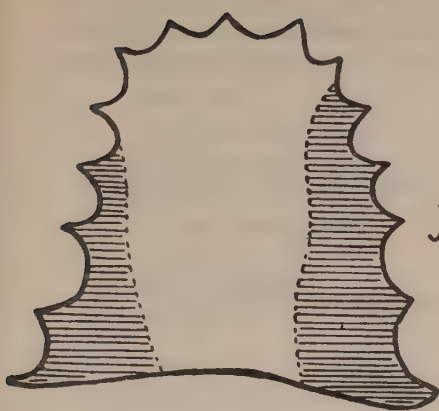
#### Examples :

<i>t/ t/ampamfja</i> (it troubles me)	<i>it/ɪ:vɪ</i> (door)
<i>t/e:pɑ</i> (be insufficient)	<i>it/q:əq</i> (duck)
<i>itfu:nɪ</i> (bird)	
<i>nt/ nt/inɑ</i> (pinch me)	<i>ɪnt/ɪŋgɑ</i> (bicycle)
<i>ndʒ ɪndʒu:kɑ</i> (playing cards)	<i>ɪndʒi:to</i> (confluence)

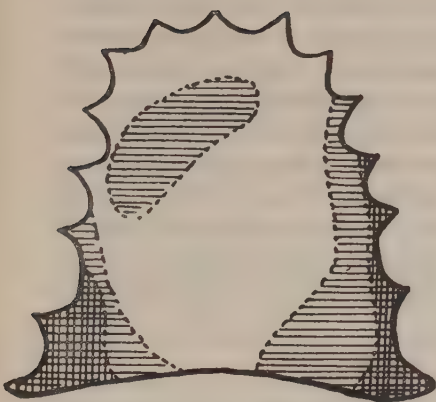
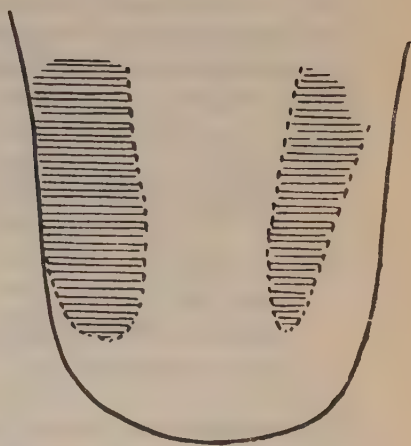
#### § 29. THE SEMI-VOWELS

The semi-vowels in Bemba, except when used initially in a syllable, are practically the starting-points of two sets of falling diphthongs. The tongue position of *j* is pre-palatal, assimilated to a certain extent, to the positions used for the sounds dealt with in the last paragraph.

The tongue-position of *w* is velar, though, owing to the lip modification, this semi-vowel might be classified as bilabial. It is better in Bemba, however, to speak of *w* as velar, since the homorganic nasal which operates with it is *ŋ*.



*j(a)*



*w1*



*w1*



*wa*

From the palatograph above it is seen that with the velar semi-vowel, the tongue adjusts its position to suit the accompanying vowel. Christopher had a tendency to touch the palate with the tongue-tip *before* pronouncing the semi-vowel. This, however, we consider accidental, and that it had nothing to do with the pronunciation of the semi-vowel itself. A similar action was noticed in connection with *v* (see § 23).

Examples of *j* :

*jama* (my maternal uncle)      *ukujɛmba* (to be smart)  
*jɔjɔmba* (mourn)

Examples of *w* :

*wɛ:lɔ* (fizz)      *ukuwa:mɔ* (to be good)  
*wɔwɔtɔ* or *wɔɔtɔ* (make a noise)  
*vawvɔ* (husbands)

### § 30. DURETICS

Duretics, the study of syllable length, is very important in Bemba. It is common in Bantu languages to find that length and stress go together, normally upon the penultimate syllable of each word. In Central Bantu, however, this is not so. While the main stress in each word is normally upon the penultimate syllable, that syllable is in some cases long and in other cases short, and this difference in length is very often semantically significant; that is, a change of syllable length very often indicates a complete change of meaning. Apart from prolonged length, found in onomatopœia and in emotional speech, which we do not include under the heading of Normal Grammatical Phonetics, there are two lengths in Bemba, which must be carefully distinguished. These are seen in the short syllable and the long syllable. In phonetic script the short syllable remains unindicated, while the long syllable is marked by the colon (:) following the vowel (or syllabic nasal) concerned.

### § 31. EXAMPLES OF SEMANTIC LENGTH

In Bemba, length distinguishes many pairs of words phonetically alike but differing in meaning. Usually a change of tone accompanies the change of length. Words in which this double distinction is shown are dealt with in § 38.

<i>lɛla</i> (nurse)	<i>lɛ:lɔ</i> (wither)
<i>it/itɔtɔ</i> (navel)	<i>it/itɔ:tɔ</i> (beer)
<i>ukufi/q</i> (to cause to arrive)	<i>ukufi:/q</i> (to blacken)

<i>se:pa</i> (move aside)	<i>se:pa</i> (swing)
<i>i:ka</i> (make fire)	<i>i:ka</i> (bury)
<i>la:la</i> (crack)	<i>la:la</i> (lie down)
<i>pi:pa</i> (cry)	<i>pi:pa</i> (feed well)
<i>papa</i> (be astonished)	<i>pa:pa</i> (carry on the back)
<i>po:la</i> (heal up)	<i>po:la</i> (hit with stones)
<i>pula</i> (beg)	<i>pu:la</i> (steal grain, of birds)
<i>vaka</i> (take care of)	<i>va:ka</i> (bear a grudge)
<i>ti:i:ko</i> (a cook)	<i>ti:i:ko</i> (it is a large beer-pot)
<i>ti:ta</i> (do)	<i>ti:ta</i> (it is an offering)
<i>ti:ko:pe</i> (photograph)	<i>ti:ko:pe</i> (scapula)
<i>mo:na</i> (look)	<i>mo:na</i> (it is the nose)
<i>vuka</i> (divine)	<i>vu:ka</i> (eat greedily)
<i>vula</i> (lack)	<i>vu:la</i> (take up)

### § 32. DYNAMICS

In Bemba, dynamics, the study of stress, plays the usual Bantu part, a part more rigidly exact among the Central Bantu languages than, for instance, among the Northern Bantu. The main stress falls normally upon the penultimate syllable of each word, and as will be seen in § 42, this has an important bearing upon the correct method of word-division in Bemba writing.

It is natural that the rule of penultimate stress cannot hold in the case of monosyllabic words, of which not a few occur in Bemba. When a word is increased in number of syllables by the addition of suffixes, the stress normally moves forward so as to remain upon the penultimate syllable in each case. Abnormal stress occurs in the extra-normal phonetics of the onomatopœic radical and the interjection, but we are not concerned with that here. Main stress is marked by the accent (').

### § 33. EXAMPLES OF NORMAL PENULTIMATE STRESS.

*lélo samutámfja* *íó:nse* — *nyúni né:námá* — — *kaválwe ápi námáká* —  
*kavípi áfúma máṇándá* — *nómba pí:né* — —

Secondary slighter stresses occur usually on every alternate syllable back from the syllable bearing the main stress; secondary stress is marked by the accent (').

*ámatántónkáṇṇ* (thoughts)      *ifíndzépéṇṇgwé* (wonders)  
*và:kulàvépéṇṇá* (they will be reading)

### § 34. EXAMPLES OF MONOSYLLABIC STRESS.

*ljá wemwát/ṣe* (eat youngster) *fjáká/i:ka t/é:* (they are very red)  
 Monosyllabic words, except in imperative and radical descriptives,



are practically non-existent in Bemba. A few words have irregular stress, such as the ante-penultimate stress shown on *wɛmwát/ɛ* above (see also the next paragraph).

### § 35. MISCELLANEOUS NOTES ON STRESS IN BEMBA

The enclitics *-pɔ*, *-kɔ*, *-mɔ* and *-/jɛ* added to words become part of such words but do not draw the main stress forward, when the original stressed syllable is long, e.g.:

<i>ví:ka</i>	—	<i>ví:kapɔ</i>		<i>ví:kq</i>	—	<i>ví:kafjɛ</i>
<i>ì:ngilé:ní</i>	—	<i>ì:ngilé:nimɔ</i>		<i>fumé:ní</i>	—	<i>fumé:níkɔ</i>

But when the stressed syllable is short, these enclitics draw forward the stress, e.g.:

<i>fúmɔ</i>	—	<i>fumákɔ</i>		<i>limɔ</i>	—	<i>limófjɛ</i>
		<i>pítɔ</i>	—	<i>puláfjɛ</i>		

Except in abnormal cases, it is unnecessary to mark stress at all in Bemba, so long as the rule is observed that main stress falls upon the penultimate syllable unless the word is monosyllabic.

### § 36. TONE

Bemba, like Lamba, must be classed as a "Tone Language"<sup>1</sup> though tone does not play so important a part in these Central Bantu languages as it does, for instance, in Kongo or Zulu. Nevertheless, tone is significant in many cases in Bemba; that is to say, the variation of the musical pitch on syllables often means an entire change in the meaning of the words.

This brief investigation into tone is by no means sufficient for conclusive deduction; still, we have been able to arrive at certain tentative conclusions which should be of assistance to the student of Bemba. In normal grammatical speech, Christopher used three level tones, a high tone (indicated by the diacritic <sup>1</sup> above the vowel), a mid-tone (unindicated), and a low tone (indicated by the diacritic <sub>1</sub> beneath the vowel). In addition to these tones, we observed a falling tone used when two mid-tones were followed by a low tone. This we have considered unnecessary to mark, so that the succession "mid, mid, low" will often really indicate "mid, falling, low." This, however, is not always the case, but we do not consider its existence as sufficiently significant to necessitate special recording.

<sup>1</sup> This has been already noticed by W. Lammond in his *Lessons in Bemba* (2nd edition), and numerous cases of semantic tone have been recorded by him in his *Bemba Vocabulary*, published in 1926.

In extra-normal phonetics, and in interjection, as is quite natural, a more varied series of tones is employed. These we are not recording in the present analysis.

## § 37

Tone is used in Bemba, semantically, as the only differentiating factor between many words phonetically and duretically alike, but bearing different meanings. Examples :

<i>impaŋga</i> (sheep)	}	<i>swvɔlɔ</i> (peck)	}
<i>impaŋga</i> (veld)	}	<i>swvɔlɔ</i> (choose)	}
<i>impaŋga</i> (swords)	}		
<i>umutɛŋgɔ</i> (forest)	}	<i>sɔkɔlɔ</i> (extract tooth)	}
<i>umutɛŋgɔ</i> (price)	}	<i>sɔkɔlɔ</i> (beat for game)	}
<i>ukuvɔmbɔ</i> (to be wet)	}	<i>tukɔ</i> (dig up earth, mole)	}
<i>ukuvɔmbɔ</i> (to work)	}	<i>tukɔ</i> (revile)	}
<i>ukuvɛɭɔ</i> (to boil, to sew)	}	<i>vɔŋgɔ</i> (bellow)	}
<i>ukuvɛɭɔ</i> (to announce)	}	<i>vɔŋgɔ</i> (be overripe)	}
<i>ukuve:ɟɔ</i> (shoulder)	}	<i>tumpikɔ</i> (dip)	}
<i>ukuve:ɟɔ</i> (to shave)	}	<i>tumpikɔ</i> (make foolish)	}
<i>ukwisulɔ</i> (to be full)	}	<i>uvwambɔ</i> (fish-weir)	}
<i>ukwisulɔ</i> (to open)	}	<i>uvwambɔ</i> (nakedness)	}
<i>tʃitɔtɔlɔ</i> (shrew woman)	}	<i>umupungɔ</i> (rice)	}
<i>tʃitɔtɔlɔ</i> (it is fowl's dung)	}	<i>umupungɔ</i> (fly-switch)	}
<i>tʃɔ:nɔ</i> (1, cat; 2, go right away)	}	<i>ukufindɔ</i> (to refuse to answer)	}
<i>tʃɔ:nɔ</i> (it is a snout)	}	<i>ukufindɔ</i> (to overpower)	}
<i>akaundɔ</i> (jigger flea)	}	<i>tʃu:ɭɔ</i> (frog)	}
<i>akaundɔ</i> (quail)	}	<i>tʃu:ɭɔ</i> (suffer)	}
<i>tʃiɭikɔ</i> (stop the hole)	}	<i>fi:mbɔ</i> (thatch)	}
<i>tʃiɭikɔ</i> (out with it !)	}	<i>fi:mbɔ</i> (swell)	}
<i>ukutʃenɔ</i> (to play)	}	<i>ukufu:nda</i> (to skin)	}
<i>ukutʃenɔ</i> (to hurt)	}	<i>ukufu:nda</i> (to command)	}
<i>ukufukulɔ</i> (to scratch up earth)	}	<i>funɟilɔ</i> (tie up)	}
<i>ukufukulɔ</i> (to turn inside out)	}	<i>funɟilɔ</i> (bespeak)	}

## § 38

Much more commonly found, however, are words phonetically alike, but differentiated by changes both of length and tone. Examples :

<i>ukufukɔ</i> (to fold)	}	<i>ukufulɔ</i> (to be abundant)	}
<i>ukufu:kɔ</i> (to rise, of smoke)	}	<i>ukufulɔ</i> (to forge iron)	}
<i>ukufu:kɔ</i> (to be gentle)	}	<i>ukufu:lɔ</i> (to undress)	}

<i>it/ivĩ</i> (much) }	<i>it/ipa</i> (eyelid) }
<i>it/i:vĩ</i> (door) }	<i>it/i:pa</i> (of divining) }
<i>ukukulā</i> (to pull) }	<i>t/ivulā</i> (gulp down) }
<i>ukukulā</i> (to grow) }	<i>t/ivu:lā</i> (it is a branch) }
<i>ukuku:lā</i> (to build) }	<i>t/i:pi</i> (it is a honey insect) }
<i>ukuky:lā</i> (to draw teeth) }	<i>t/i:pi</i> (short) }
<i>it/i:ta</i> (offering) }	<i>t/i:ta</i> (it is an offering) }
<i>it/ita</i> (soldier) }	<i>t/ia</i> (do) }
	<i>t/i:ta</i> (it is a soldier) }
<i>kōlā</i> (1, make drunk ; 2, come upon, of famine) }	
<i>kō:lā</i> (cough) }	
<i>kō:lā</i> (scrape together) }	
<i>it/ikuku</i> (box) }	<i>pēlā</i> (grind) }
<i>it/iku:ku</i> (grace) }	<i>pēlā</i> (come to an end) }
	<i>pē:lā</i> (give) }
	<i>pē:lā</i> (swing) }

## § 39

Care must be taken also to watch for any slight change in phone, as well as tone and length. Notice the following cases :—

<i>pēpa</i> (pray) }	<i>ukwē:ŋgā</i> (to render down fat) }
<i>pē:pa</i> (smoke) }	<i>ukukwē:ŋgā</i> (to cut with knife) }
<i>sēkā</i> (laugh) }	<i>sēke/ā</i> (cause to laugh) }
<i>sē:kā</i> (be many) }	<i>sē:ke:/ā</i> (put out to another's care) }

## § 40

Apart from the Semantic tone, already dealt with, tone, as an emotional factor, is employed in Bemba to signify interrogation. Example :

<i>āfwa</i> (is he dead ?) }	<i>vāleja</i> (are they going ?) }
<i>afwā</i> (he is dead) }	<i>valeja</i> (they are going) }
<i>tēne</i> or <i>tenē</i> (is it not I ?) }	
<i>tenē</i> or <i>teinē</i> (it is not I) }	

## § 41

As a grammatical factor also tone has its part in Bemba. Example :

<i>ālēfwaja lēlō</i> (he wants to-day)
<i>ālēfwaja kalē</i> (he wanted long ago)

## § 42 WORD-DIVISION

In Bemba every syllable, and hence every word, ends in a vowel.<sup>1</sup> Syllabic division, therefore, is extremely straightforward. Correct

<sup>1</sup> Except in the few cases of the syllabic nasals, see § 21.

word-division, however, is not so easily determined. Hitherto, many Bantu languages have been written in what is called the "disjunctive method," and the protagonists of disjunctivism base their arguments not on how the words are pronounced, nor even on the special genius of Bantu grammar, but upon analogies from European and classical grammatical systems. Anyone who has seriously studied Comparative Bantu philology cannot but be struck by the fact that Bantu has a special "genius" in grammatical classification. It has "parts of speech" unknown as such in European languages, and it lacks "parts of speech" and grammatical forms well known to Europe.

In every Bantu language *there is a true word-division*, dependent upon phonetic considerations. Natives speak out their sentences in words; and it has been found that in Bemba word-division is dependent upon the same law as obtains in Zulu,<sup>1</sup> viz., *in each word or word-group there is one and only one main stress*. Every Bemba word, then, contains a main stress, and no single Bemba word contains more than one main stress. As we have already observed (§§ 32 and 35), the main stress in Bemba normally falls upon the penultimate syllable, but if the word is monosyllabic, that single syllable is necessarily stressed.

An examination of Bemba to determine the true spoken words will reveal the following facts:—

(1) That the noun prefix and noun stem contribute to form a single word (example, *umuntu*, *avantu*), and that the same thing applies in the following cases:—

- (a) Adjectival concord and adjectival root, e.g. *umukalamba*, *avari*.
- (b) Relative concord and relative stem or verb-form, e.g., *uwafi:ta*, *avavumba*.
- (c) Possessive concord and possessive stem or substantival form succeeding it, e.g., *wandi*, *vamfu:mu*.
- (d) Verbal concord and verb stem, including all true verbal auxiliaries (and excluding auxiliary verbs), e.g., *wafwa:ja*, *ulefwa:ja*, *vakamfwa:ja*, *twasuka twafika*, *isa ungafweke*, but with elision and coalescence *songafweke*.

<sup>1</sup> See Doke, *The Phonetics of the Zulu Language*, p. 188 et seq.



- (e) Locative prefixes and the substantival forms used with them, the resultant *words* being either adverbs or nouns, e.g., *kumuntu*, *pavantu*, *kuḽiine*, *kuntundi*.
- (f) The “conjunctive formative” (variously appearing as *na-*, *ne-* or *no-*) and the substantive, adverb or conjunction following, e.g., *nefwε*, *nḁvantu*, *nḁmuntu*, *neḽfumu*, *nakāvifi*, *napākuti*.

(2) That these single words, from the Bantu point of view, constitute the real “parts of speech,” and that the formative elements in their make-up should not be considered as such. Hence in Bantu we find no prepositions (these are adverbial or nominal formatives), and no cases (the locative is usually an adverb, the genitive constitutes a fresh “part of speech”—the possessive—the vocative is always an interjection).

(3) That words, through coalescence or elision of vowels,<sup>1</sup> may become fused to form word-groups, each part of which is easily distinguishable, and under certain circumstances (in slow speech) may maintain its separate identity as a word, e.g., *namona umuntu* *namonḁ:muntu*.

(4) That no word may be broken into its component parts of prefix, stem or suffix and still retain “life”; such breaking of words can only serve the purpose of cold grammatical analysis for classification purposes, but the resultant “formatives” are not “words.” If such breaking up of words is employed in writing, the effect is the same as if each *syllable* of each word were written separately and taken to represent a word, i.e., *no muntu* is as irrational as *no mu ntu*.

#### § 43. SUGGESTIONS REGARDING ORTHOGRAPHY

As a result of the somewhat detailed analysis of Bemba pronunciation, set out in the preceding paragraphs, we now offer the following suggestions for an improvement of the present orthography, realising that it is not too late to effect alterations which will simplify understanding and preserve more accurately the real nature of Bemba speech :—

1. The employment of the conjunctive method of writing, dividing words according as they are naturally divided in speech.
2. The separation of word-groups into their component words in writing, leaving it to the quick reader to carry out elisions or coalescences automatically.

<sup>1</sup> We have not dealt with the Bemba rules for coalescence and elision of vowels, as they belong more strictly to the realms of grammar.

3. The retention of the present five symbols for the vowels, not differentiating *e* from *ɛ*, or *o* from *ɔ*; but the introduction of length marking, as change of length is often significant. Length should be marked either by doubling the vowel (*aa*) or by the phonetic "colon" succeeding the vowel (*a:*) in all cases, whether differentiating meanings or not.

4. The employment of *ŋ* (in preference to *ñ*) to represent the velar nasal, and its use as velar homorganic nasal before *k* and *g* (cf. use of *ŋk* and *ŋg* in Lamba New Testament).

5. The recognition of the bilabial voiced fricative (*v*) and the employment for it either of *b* (on the strict understanding that it is not explosive except after *m*, as *mb*), or of the phonetic symbol *v*. Perhaps the retention of symbol *b* is preferable.

6. The recognition of the flapped nature of the lateral under certain conditions. As *l* and *ɾ* belong to the same phoneme the symbol *l* is sufficient to represent all occurrences hitherto recorded as *l*, *r* or *d*, except when the homorganic nasal *n* precedes *d*, in which case *nd* should be written. Should a more exact orthography be required, the symbol *ɾ* or even *r* (with a proviso as to pronunciation) could be employed for cases of the flapped lateral.

7. The definite employment of */* for the present *sh* and *shy*, and the employment of *t/* for the present *ch* and *chy*.

Since *s* and */* belong to the same phoneme, *s* before *i* and *sy* before other vowels could represent */* (as is done in Lamba); but this is a less preferable suggestion to the one above, owing to the necessary introduction of *y* before vowels other than *i*. It would also do away with the connection between */* and *t/*.

8. The use of *n* for the hitherto-used *ny* and always as the homorganic nasal before */*, *t/* and *j*.

9. The use of capitals is considered unnecessary, as capitals are never used in "speech."

10. The marking of tone in record, translational and scientific work.

#### § 44. PHONETIC TEXT

(a) Close Phonetic Script.—*vâfulwê vâambenê vutʃivusa navâkolwê*—*— kowlê âe:va fulwê ati ûkesê:ʔjo:vwaʔi kumwandi maiʔo — fulwê dimâ:ja kwâkolwê — âwê vanaja no:vwaʔi kuʔivamukâkolwê — —*



vavu:la fulwe vamute:ka pátšipuna — — valé:ta no:vwaŋi — — fulwe  
 alati — nsunjo:vwaŋi<sup>1</sup> — áponena paŋsi — — vāmuto:la vāmuri:kapo  
 — — kaviŋi áti — nsune — — kaviŋi ápona — — áwo:vwaŋi vapwa  
 kuŋikolwe — — fulwe éna insala jákaŋipa — — e:ŋjo ae:va kolwe áti—  
 naine úkese kumwandi mailo — — awa:imá:ja kumwakwe — áŋŋa  
 no:mupja kwi:fwe — — vwaisatŋa kolwe aimá:ja kwáfulwe — — tŋiŋja:  
 javukò:mumana — asangò-mupja — apitamo apanta mumi:ŋe — —  
 awa:fika kwáfulwe — —

(b) Suggested Orthography (without marking tone)—vafulwe vaambene  
 vutŋivusa navakolwe. kolwe ae:va fulwe áti ukese:lya uvwali kumwandi  
 mailo. fulwe aima aya kwakolwe, awe vanaya no:vwali kulivamuka-  
 kolwe. vavu:la fulwe vamute:ka patšipuna. vale:ta no:vwali. fulwe  
 alati, nsune uvwali, aponena paŋsi. vāmuto:la vāmuri:kapo. kavili  
 áti, nsune. kavili apona. awe uvwali vapwa kilikolwe. fulwe éna  
 insala yakalipa. elyo ae:va kolwe áti, naine ukese kumwandi mailo.  
 awe aima aya kumwakwe, aotŋa no:mupya kwi:fwe. vwaisatŋa kolwe  
 aima aya kwáfulwe. tŋiŋja ayavuka umumana, asanga umupya,  
 apitamo apanta mumi:le, awe afika kwáfulwe.

(c) Translation.—The tortoise made friends with the monkey.  
 The monkey said to the tortoise, You must come and eat porridge  
 at my place to-morrow. The tortoise set out and went to the mon-  
 key's place, and the monkey's wife cooked porridge. They took up  
 the tortoise and set him on a stool. They brought the porridge.  
 The tortoise made as if to take some porridge, and down he fell.  
 They picked him up and set him on again. Again he tried to take.  
 Again he fell. At length the porridge was finished by the monkey.  
 As for the tortoise, hunger was fierce. Thereupon he said to the  
 monkey, I also, you must come to my place to-morrow. So he set  
 out and went to his place and burnt a patch of grass at the watering  
 place. The next morning the monkey set out and went to the tor-  
 toise's place. When he crossed the river, he came upon the burnt  
 patch, he passed through and trod on the burnt stubble, and in that  
 way reached the tortoise's place.

<sup>1</sup> The use of *njo* contracted from *ne+u* deserves further investigation. The distinction  
 between *na* and *nja* in Bwene-mukuni has been noticed by Father J. Torrend.

## BOOK NOTICES

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*The Comparative Phonetics of the Suto-Chwana Group of Bantu Languages.* By A. N. TUCKER, M.A. (6½ x 9½ ins., pp. 139), 1929.

This publication is Mr. Tucker's thesis approved for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of London. It embodies considerable original personal research conducted as a research student of Cape Town University. The whole work is an able exposition of the application of the method of orthography promoted by the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures.

The author has divided his subject into four parts:—I, The general characteristics of the group; II., Phonetic Structure; III., Phonetics in Relation to Morphology; IV., Length, Stress and Intonation.

In the first part is some valuable information regarding the language distribution and dialects within the group. In the second part the three main types of Suto, Chwana and Pedi are treated comparatively with copious examples. It is a pity that the author decided to use the symbols *ǒ* and *ǔ* instead of *w* and *y* in such words as *ǎna*, *ǎa*, *ǎa* *ǎisa*. His explanation that they are often but rapid enunciations of *o* and *e* does not seem to justify such use. This portion of the work demonstrates the tremendous advantage to be gained in the Suto-Chwana (and the Zulu-Xosa) group by the employment of the symbols / (instead of *sh*) and ʔ (instead of *hl*). It is to be hoped that users of these languages will make special note of this advantage. The term "plosive" is still used to indicate *t*, *b*, *d*, *g*, etc. In Bantu languages, especially, the term "explosive" is much better, because there are many of them (not in the group treated by the author) which also employ "implosive" sounds, and uniformity in terminology as well as uniformity in orthography is desirable.

Labialization and palatalization are exhaustively and interestingly treated in the third part. In the last part Intonation is treated along the lines of the works of Daniel Jones (published in the *Festschrift Meinhof* and in *Africa*). Rightful emphasis is placed upon the importance of the "C-forms," i.e., the forms words assume in the body of the sentence, not isolated or final. Here, however, at once looms up a difficulty. On page 135, the author writes, "Concerning the much-debated question of word-division this treatise has nothing to say. I have taken here as criteria what my native informants



consider the word-division should be, and since practically all Suto-Chwana current literature is 'disjunctive,' the vernacular passages given here are also written disjunctively." The opinions of the native informants are naturally what they have been used to, and workers in this Bantu field especially need to be awakened to the importance of a revolution in their method of word-division. Now, with an inconclusive word-division, it is very difficult to see how "C-forms" or "A-forms" of tonemes can be classified and studied. Nevertheless, a lot of suggestive classification has been done in this work, especially as the author has recognised tonal inflexion of the last two syllables only in each word.

The remarks on "stress" are not very illuminating. We fail to see how a phonetician can take account of the "tremendous psychological (if not acoustic) accent" on the last syllable of a breath-group.

This publication comes at a fitting time, and will prove of inestimable value in educating Suto-Chwana workers towards a realization of the necessity for a thorough revision of orthography—and that along the lines set out by the International Institute.

C. M. DOKE.

*Suggestions for the Spelling of Transvaal Sesuto* : Memorandum VII.  
of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures  
By A. N. TUCKER, M.A. (6½ x 9½ ins., pp. 24), 1929.

In this pamphlet the author boldly applies the principles of the International Institute to the problem of the Orthography of Pedi. This is really the only sound basis for a settlement, and it is to be hoped that Mr. Tucker's work will be the memorandum for ultimate debate. One or two of the symbols suggested may not commend themselves, but the principle of special symbols for special sounds will *have* to be conceded. In the recent attempts at orthographic settlement in the Suto-Chwana group, very few of the members seem prepared to concede this point; and it is for that reason that we welcome such an enlightening pamphlet as this.

C. M. DOKE.